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**The development of the use of models in Scottish art,
c.1800-1900, with special reference to painting and the
Trustees' Academy, Edinburgh**

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Submitted in fulfillment for the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

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This thesis suggests that a range of major and some minor Scottish nineteenth-century artists' approaches to figurative art, c.1800-1900, were informed by, and in some cases decisively influenced by, the prevalence of naturalism as fostered by the Trustees' Academy, Edinburgh. The Trustees' Academy was selected as a case study for this thesis due to its prominent position in art education as a leading Scottish institution, particularly for the first half of the nineteenth century. Despite scholars noting the far-reaching influence of certain nineteenth-century Scottish artists, such as David Wilkie, discussions of Scottish figurative painting predominantly focus on the personal development of artists' oeuvres or artists, and grouped generally by style or chronology. Moreover, there is no dedicated published study on the nineteenth-century history of the Trustees' Academy and its pedagogical methods; similarly, the discussions of Scottish naturalism have formed part of larger contributions related to specific artists and movements. This thesis presents new research from unpublished archive papers related to the Trustees' Academy in the National Archives of Scotland, and it adopts a contextual and comparative approach by exploring the history of the TA and its pedagogical approaches in relation to wider trends in Scottish art and as relevant in England and abroad.

Following discussions established by Duncan Macmillan and John Morrison, it suggests that naturalism developed in Scottish figurative painting as a conceptual motif and as a stylistic tool. The conceptual strand was rooted in poetry, which explored both the 'Celtic' and 'pastoral', with each being evocative of a romanticised, 'natural' way of life. This thesis proposes that naturalism, as a style, was more fully developed in the nineteenth century, in part developed by artists' pursuit of personal depictions of Scotland's land and people. Naturalism, as posited by this thesis, was part of Scotland's wider search, post-Union, for its national identity within its 'union-nationalist' framework. By elucidating this new approach in Scottish artists' depictions of the figure, this study aims to enhance our understanding of Scottish nineteenth-century systems of art education and artists' approaches to the model, and to contribute to research on Scottish national identity in nineteenth-century painting.

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Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Victoria Irvine

Abbreviations

ECA	Edinburgh College of Art
TA	Trustees' Academy
RA	Royal Academy
RSA	Royal Scottish Academy
NAS	National Archives of Scotland

Introduction

An examination of contemporary art in Scotland will show that the painters of landscape greatly exceed in number the artists in any other branch of painting.¹

As the writer and librarian A.H. Millar observed in the late nineteenth century, Scotland has a tradition of landscape painting that dated back to the eighteenth century. ‘Character’ painting, he acknowledged – here apparently using ‘character’ as a synonym for ‘genre’ – had ‘few... amongst her artists, with the notable exceptions of Wilkie, of Harvey, and of Erskine Nicol.’² Since then, art historians have acknowledged the influence of the Scottish artist David Wilkie (1785-1841) in nineteenth-century Scottish (and English) figure painting and in the creation of the Scottish domestic genre scene.³ An examination of nineteenth-century Scottish art cannot be discussed without also considering the role of the author Sir Walter Scott in fostering the romanticized image of Victorian Scotland.⁴ Yet, while the ‘expanding scope and range of figurative painting’⁵ in nineteenth-century Scottish art was established by contemporary authors, such as Robert Brydall and James Caw,⁶ discussions have hitherto largely focused on the personal development of artists’ oeuvres, groupings of artists by style or chronology and the impact of specific art institutions in nineteenth-century Scotland.⁷ In particular, Bill Smith and Selina Skipwith have suggested that the ‘truly Scottish school of painting in terms of an identifiable Scottish style’ emerged during the tenure of Robert Scott Lauder (1803-1869) at the Trustees’ Academy (TA) from 1852-1861, a period of the TA closely examined by Lindsay Errington.⁸ This thesis seeks a new approach by offering a closer examination than before of the use of artists’ models in nineteenth-century Scottish figurative painting, with reference to Scottish nineteenth-century sculpture and photography. It considers the role of

¹ Alexander Hastie Millar, ‘SCOTTISH ART’, *The Art Journal*, March 1880, 81.

² Ibid.

³ For example: Lindsay Errington (ed.), *Scotland’s Pictures* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1990), 40. Bill Smith and Selina Skipwith, *A History of Scottish Art* (London: Merrell in association with The Fleming-Wyfold Art Foundation, 2003), 21. Ian Finlay, *Art in Scotland* (London; New York; Toronto: Geoffrey Cumberlege; Oxford University Press, 1948).

⁴ See John Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003).

⁵ Errington, *Scotland’s Pictures*, 46.

⁶ Robert Brydall, *Art in Scotland: Its Origin and Progress* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1889); James. L. Caw, *Scottish Painting Past and Present, 1620-1908* (Edinburgh: Jack, 1908).

⁷ See, for example, William Hardie, *Scottish Painting: 1837 to the Present*, third edition (London: Studio Vista, 1990). Andrew Gibbon Williams and Andrew Brown, *The Bigger Picture: A History of Scottish Art* (London: BBC Books, 1993).

⁸ Smith and Skipwith, *A History of Scottish Art*, 21. For a discussion of Lauder’s influence, see Lindsay Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1983).

the TA, Edinburgh, and the artists associated with this institution in the emergence of a distinctive type of figure painting in Scotland across the broader timespan of c.1800-1900.

The TA was founded in 1760 and it was managed by the Honourable Board of Trustees for the Improvement of Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland, later the Board of Manufactures. Originally conceived of as a design school for men and women pursuing drawing for industry and manufactures, the school developed into a fine arts academy due to the individual approaches adopted by each master, particularly under the tenure of the artist John Graham (1754-1817).⁹ In the nineteenth century, the TA was the dominant free art institution in the central belt of the country¹⁰ for the first half of the century. It educated many of Scotland's prominent artists, including Wilkie and William McTaggart (1835-1910). In turn, many of the TA's alumni became important educational figures in Scotland and England, and influential artists in their own right. In 1858, the TA was integrated into the Department of Science and Art, with the Academy renamed as the Trustees' School of Art and becoming part of the government-funded Schools of Design. This system continued to operate until 1897 when control was given to the Scotch Education Department. The institution then became the Edinburgh College of Art (ECA) in 1908 (merged with the University of Edinburgh in 2011), as it remains to date.

The Schools of Design had been founded through a campaign initiated by the artist Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786-1846) and Sir Robert Peel. In particular, both men believed that an education in 'High Art' would improve designs for manufactures and cultivate taste in Britain.¹¹ In 1835 the House of Commons set up a Select Committee to examine practical methods for the improvement of taste in designs for manufactures, to study the relationship of British design and trade economics, and to examine the role of the dominant art academy, the Royal Academy (RA) in London.¹² The Committee met from 1835-1836 and then published its *Report*.¹³ Recommendations included the foundation of a Normal School of Design in London, government grant assistance for regional schools, the foundation of public museums/galleries and a new emphasis on the importance of public

⁹ See Patricia Brookes, "The Trustees' Academy, Edinburgh -- 1760-1801: The Public Patronage of Art and Design in the Scottish Enlightenment" (Syracuse University, 1989).

¹⁰ The Scottish Academy, later the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA), was founded in 1826 in Edinburgh by Scottish artists, many of them TA alumni. It became the sole fine art institution in Edinburgh in 1858 with the removal of the TA's Life Academy to the RSA. The Glasgow Government School of Design also operated in the early Victorian period, although it was primarily a school of design.

¹¹ Christopher Frayling et al., *The Royal College of Art: One Hundred & Fifty Years of Art & Design* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1987), 13.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ *Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures: together with the minutes of evidence, and appendix* (London: HMSO, 1835).

art.¹⁴ The Normal School of Design was established in 1837 in Somerset House, Aldwych, and its course was structured as per the suggestions of the *Report*; students intended to design for manufactures should only work from drawings and plaster casts and not from the life model.¹⁵ During the 1840s, regional Schools of Design in Manchester, Coventry, Birmingham and Norwich were founded, each following the set curriculum of the Normal School of Design, and in 1841, the School founded a class to train instructors.¹⁶ The Female School of Design was also founded in 1841. However, the School was considered a failure, and the Scottish artist (and TA associate) William Dyce (1806–1854) was appointed as its Superintendent and Professor in 1838 in an attempt to improve its development. From its inception the Normal School struggled with issues around its curriculum and its organisational structure. TA alumnus Charles Heath Wilson (1809–1882) was appointed as Dyce’s successor in 1843, yet it became apparent that most students struggled with elementary drawing; classrooms became extremely limited in space, and Heath Wilson’s teaching style was hugely unpopular.¹⁷ The processes of the Normal School were again subject to scrutiny through the Select Committee *Report* of 1849¹⁸ instigated by the zealous campaigning of Henry Cole (1808–1882), a civil servant with practical art and design experience, and Richard Redgrave (1804–1888), an artist and temporary teacher at the Normal School.¹⁹ Cole was appointed as the General Superintendent, and Redgrave became the Superintendent for Art. Redgrave designed the *National Course of Instruction*²⁰ with twenty-three stages, intending for the course to be adapted to the individual needs of each regional school. The rigidity of the curriculum, combined with its lengthy steps, left many frustrated students unable to develop stylistically or to experiment with different mediums.²¹ The curriculum remained relatively unchanged until the end of the century.²²

¹⁴ Stuart Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*, First published 1963 (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2004), 68.

¹⁵ Frayling et al., *The Royal College of Art: One Hundred & Fifty Years of Art & Design*, 16–17.

¹⁶ Ibid, 20.

¹⁷ Ibid, 25, 28. Major staffing changes were negotiated in 1848, with Dyce returning as the Master of the class of Ornament and Redgrave was designated as Master of Flower-drawing and Botany; five other staff appointments were also made. Heath Wilson was appointed as Superintendent of the regional Schools of Design, although he left to become the Master of the School of Design in Glasgow.

¹⁸ *Report from the Select Committee on the School of Design; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index*. London: HMSO, 1849.

¹⁹ Frayling et al., *The Royal College of Art: One Hundred & Fifty Years of Art & Design*, 28.

²⁰ See Appendix III for *The National Course of Instruction for Government Schools of Art in Britain*.

²¹ Prince Albert offered Cole twelve acres of land upon which the new school and Museum of Ornamental Art was to be located. The School moved to its new purpose-built location in South Kensington, hence the ‘South Kensington System’, in 1864. Frayling et al., *The Royal College of Art: One Hundred & Fifty Years of Art & Design*, 46–47.

²² Ibid, 41, 66–67. By the late 1850s, Cole had cultivated the School to be centered on teacher training, although other initiatives were introduced, including National Scholarships and a medals system for the best work produced within the Schools of Design. The National Art Training School, as it was known, was

In terms of the research for this thesis, the findings made by others on the development of Scottish art show that there is scope for new research on the TA and its influence. This thesis will examine the development of figure painting in Scottish art by exploring the TA's teaching methods. These changes were fostered in two forms: firstly through the study of the human form at its Antique and Life Academies, and secondly, through artworks made by the TA's masters and students. Studies, paintings and sculptures made by TA masters and students will be compared with wider stylistic British and Continental trends in relation to the hypothesis that those students were drawn to specific European artistic movements as part of the TA's pedagogic emphasis. In turn, the examination in this thesis aims to facilitate the study of lesser-researched Scottish artists, to enlarge upon the discussion of nineteenth-century British art education and to contribute to the canon of Victorian figure painting.

Review of key literature

Scottish figure painting and naturalism

The examination of the use of the figure in nineteenth-century Scottish painting has been more generally absorbed into wider studies of Scottish art. Important contemporary sources include those by Brydall, the artist William McKay and the art critic, the first curator of the National Galleries of Scotland, and son-in-law and close friend of McTaggart, James L. Caw. Brydall and McKay's studies are illuminating in that they established the chronology for the history of Scottish art. In the main, Brydall's discussion comprises the growth of Edinburgh-based institutions and artists; however, he does not explore the work of the artists of the mid-late nineteenth century, that is, the products of the TA and their contemporaries. McKay's *The Scottish School of Painting* (1906) is important in showing the formative effect of the TA master John Graham in the development of the Scottish School. However, in terms of artistic context, Caw's *Scottish Painting, Past and Present, 1620-1908* (1908) offers the most. His discussion of the nineteenth century is grouped into major sections: 'the earlier school', the mid-Victorian period, and the 1850s onwards under the tenure of Lauder at the TA. Caw realised the importance of the TA and its contribution to the Scottish School as he states that Graham's tenure signified 'considerable influence on his pupils and immediate successors', although

renamed as The Royal College of Art in 1896. The Board of Education then became responsible for the affairs of The Royal College of Art in 1899, superintended by the Council of Art.

not specifically in terms of figurative painting.²³ These primary sources provide a foundation from which to begin to examine key Scottish artists and to form stylistic links, but the authors do not single out for special attention the issue of figurative painting, nor its relationship to the TA's methods of training in its earlier history.

In terms of the analysis of the origins of Scottish nineteenth-century figurative painting, David and Francina Irwin, Duncan Macmillan, Murdo Macdonald and John Morrison have all contributed valuable discussions to this topic. Each of these authors enhances the understanding of Scottish art within a Scottish nationalist context. The Irwins established a fuller chronology of Scottish art in the late twentieth century; the authors offered new research on Scottish men prominent in the nineteenth-century art world, like David Scott (1806-1848) for example.²⁴ In relation to this research, the Irwins established that the development of figurative painting in Scotland was tied to the classical tradition. Classicism in figurative art was transferred to Scottish painting by the Scots artist Gavin Hamilton (1723-1798), then in Rome. Yet through the use of Celtic poetry²⁵ as a theme, the classical and the Celtic came together in the Penicuik House Ossian murals of the TA master Alexander Runciman (1736-1785) in the late eighteenth century. Duncan Macmillan's important study *Scottish Art 1460-1990* (1990)²⁶ also follows an established chronology of Scottish art.²⁷ His analysis of Enlightenment philosophies and artists is significant to this research because it builds on the Irwins' discussion: he traces the 'direct inspiration of poetry' in fostering 'the primitive ideal' in Scottish eighteenth-century figurative painting.²⁸ According to Macmillan, the 'primitive ideal' was explored with particular reference to poetic identification with the 'Celtic', through the poems of the Gaelic Bard Ossian, as mentioned previously, although the author does not fully qualify his understanding of the term. The other identified strand of poeticism was the 'pastoral', found in the poetry of Allan Ramsay and Robert Burns and used as a motif in the paintings

²³ James. L Caw, *Scottish Painting Past and Present, 1620-1908* (Edinburgh: Jack, 1908), 52. It should be noted that Caw later discusses figurative painting, but this is in relation to the later Victorians and not specifically focused on the earlier history of the TA. His discussions of figurative painting are included in his chapters on 'Domestic Genre' and 'Historical Genre.' See Caw, *Scottish Painting Past and Present, 1620-1908*, 420.

²⁴ David Irwin and Francina Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900* (London: Faber, 1975), 263-282. Their chapter on the establishment of the 'Scottish School' is illuminating as it emphasizes the role of David Octavius Hill (1802-1870), RSA Secretary.

²⁵ Ibid, 104-109.

²⁶ Macmillan updated his book to take into account art until the close of the twentieth century. This thesis refers to his first edition, as the relevant chapters remain unaltered in the second edition. See Duncan Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2000).

²⁷ Hardie, *Scottish Painting: 1837 to the Present*. Hardie focuses on Scottish art from 1837, although he grouped artists together in the same manner as the Irwins (i.e. The pupils of Robert Scott Lauder and The Glasgow School).

²⁸ Duncan Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-1990* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1990), 113.

of TA master David Allan (1744-1796).²⁹ Although both of these styles had stylistic origins in classicism, Runciman's developed into a Romanticised version of neoclassicism, and Allan's became known as 'genre.' Scottish artists' use of poetry as a tool owed to the Enlightenment tradition that was tied to the interrelationship of poetry, philosophy and the visual arts. Macmillan's discussion is significant for highlighting the emergence of a romantic ideal of Scotland in the late eighteenth century, but he does not fully clarify his understanding of the 'primitive ideal' or further explore the definitions of terms.³⁰

Similarly, Macdonald has made it the focus of his academic career to re-examine the national status of Scottish visual culture, emphasized by his research project *Window to the West/ Uinneag dhan Àird an Iar: Towards a Redefinition of the Visual within Gaelic Scotland* (2005-2011). Macdonald's publications, notably *Scottish Art* (2000) and his journal articles, further illuminate our understanding of the Enlightenment culture that fostered philosophies and visual styles of Scottish art that would resurface in the nineteenth century.³¹ Following on from Macmillan's discussion of the Celtic-classical hybrid, Macdonald also states that the 'complementarity of the Celtic and the classical is a long-standing aspect of Scottish art and literature.'³² Macdonald further explores the development of the 'Celtic and the classical' in Scottish art.³³ He has developed this line of thought particularly in relation to Ossian, and as it manifested itself in nineteenth-century landscapes, principally in the oeuvre of the artist David Octavius Hill (1802-1870). As a result, his analysis largely excludes Scottish nineteenth-century figurative painting.

One of the more expansive studies of recent years is John Morrison's *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920* (2003). Morrison uses the framework of 'union-nationalism' for his research,³⁴ stating that it 'asserted the identity of

²⁹ Ibid, 121 and 128.

³⁰ Ibid, 205. This is perhaps with the exception of the early Victorian Scottish artist David Scott who Macmillan states was carrying 'the mantle of [Alexander] Runciman's historical ambitions.'

³¹ Murdo Macdonald, *Scottish Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000). In terms of the Scottish eighteenth-century visual culture, Macdonald has said that 'the point to be made with respect to the wider intellectual culture of Scotland at the time of [Robert] Burns and [Alexander] Nasmyth is that visual thinking – whether in science or in art – was a notably generative part of that culture.' See Murdo Macdonald, 'Envisioning Burns' in Fintan Cullen and John Morrison (eds.), *A Shared Legacy: Essays on Irish and Scottish Art and Visual Culture* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 63.

³² Ibid, 68.

³³ See Murdo Macdonald, "Art as an Expression of Northernness: The Highlands of Scotland," *Visual Culture in Britain* 11, no. 3 (2010).

³⁴ Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 6. Morrison shows that this term was first used by Graeme Morton, and adapted by Murray Pittock. See Graeme Morton, "Unionist-Nationalism: The Historical Construction of Scottish National Identity, Edinburgh, 1830-1860" (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1994); G.H. Murray Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

Scotland strongly' albeit within the borders of the United Kingdom.³⁵ He convincingly shows that within post-Union Scotland, nineteenth-century paintings were part of a culture that sought to create a pro-union identity for the country that was distinct from England. Morrison's approach regards the history paintings of the TA master William Allan (1782-1850) as essential to the dissemination of Scottish identity.³⁶ His contribution is original and significant in relation to Scottish nineteenth-century figurative art, partly through bringing under-researched Scottish artists to the reader's attention. However, it is also limited to the study of selected artists and periods, and therefore the discussion is not able to fully examine the repercussions of 'union-nationalism' in the figurative paintings of, for example, David Scott, or the students of Robert Scott Lauder at the TA.

The Trustees' Academy

The TA's institutional history is contained within the Minute Books of the Board of Manufactures in the National Library of Scotland (NAS), and in contemporary newspaper articles, periodicals and government reports. Despite a flurry of publications on Scottish art institutions over the past thirty years, including studies on the Foulis Academy, the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA) and the Glasgow School of Art, the TA has no comprehensive nineteenth-century account of its history, underlining the necessity of the research carried out in this thesis.³⁷ In terms of the published history of the TA, it is generally referenced or comprised in surveys of Scottish art, including in Brydall's and the Irwins' studies.³⁸ The exception is Duncan Forbes's informative book chapter which discusses issues of politics and patronage in early nineteenth-century Edinburgh.³⁹ Forbes's discussion shows that the

³⁵ Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 8.

³⁶ Ibid, 124. He also suggests that Scottish identity was expressed through attention to religious differences from England, more specifically that the Union of 1707 meant that the Church of Scotland could exist autonomously from England, and artists, particularly Wilkie, highlighted this difference. It is worth noting that Morrison also published an essay on 'Highlandism and Scottish identity' in *A Shared Legacy: Essays on Irish and Scottish Art and Visual Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 97-112.

³⁷ For example: George Fairfull-Smith, *The Foulis Press and the Foulis Academy: Glasgow's eighteenth century school of art and design* (Glasgow: The Glasgow Art Index in association with the Friends of the Glasgow University Library, 2001). Esme Gordon, *The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture, & Architecture 1826-1976* (Edinburgh: Skilton, 1976); Hugh Ferguson, *Glasgow School of Art: The History* (Glasgow: The Foulis Press; Glasgow School of Art, 1995); Michael Clarke, *The Draughtsman's Art: Master Drawings from the National Gallery of Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Gallery, 1999). Mungo Campbell, *The Line of Tradition: Watercolours, Drawings & Prints by Scottish Artists, 1700-1900* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1993) provides a more recent version of the TA's pedagogical chronology.

³⁸ Sara Stevenson's work is also worth mentioning in relation to the history of the TA. She briefly discusses pedagogical elements of its curriculum in relation to Hill's education. See, for example, Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, Chapter 9: The Figure and Expression, 129-142.

³⁹ Duncan Forbes, 'Private advantage and public feeling: the struggle for academic legitimacy in Edinburgh in the 1820s', in Rafael Cardoso Denis and Colin Trodd (eds.), *Art and the Academy in the Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000). For one of the period accounts of the struggles between Edinburgh institutions, see George Monro, *Scottish Art and National Encouragement Containing a*

Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts and the Board of Manufactures dominated patronage and controlled exhibitions in early nineteenth-century Edinburgh. This led to the foundation of the RSA, which in turn aided the growth of the Scottish art market. Although not exclusively focused on the TA, Forbes's contribution helps to explain some of its early acquisitions and teaching methodologies. It remains a relatively brief discussion however, which is necessarily unable to address the detailed history of the institution attempted in this thesis.

Of the discussions that do offer 'case studies' of specific periods of the TA's history, noteworthy mention should be given to Lindsay Errington's excellent *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and his pupils* (1983). It is an exhibition catalogue, although it includes a brief biography of the TA master Lauder, and also a discussion of his methods in the Antique and Life Academies during his tenure (1852-1861). Errington has published extensively on the subject of Scottish art.⁴⁰ Indeed, her account of Lauder's life and teaching practices offered the first in-depth examination of the artist and his pedagogical impact. The catalogue entries include post-TA paintings by his students, but it is not always clear from these how Lauder's influence can be seen in his students' professional work. This is partly due to the format of the study. This thesis will build on Errington's research by examining more closely the connections between Lauder's methods at the TA and the development of his students' early figurative work, particularly the oeuvre of William McTaggart.

Helen Smailes has also contributed a case study of an aspect of the TA's institutional history in her article: 'A History of the Statue Gallery at the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh and the acquisition of the Albacini casts in 1838' (1991). In this article, she discusses the formative period of the TA's history when the Board of Manufactures was actively building a large collection of casts (from the early to mid-nineteenth century) under the supervision of its masters, Graham and Andrew Wilson (1740-1848). Her discussion is informative in its detailed historic overview of an important period of the TA's history, although there is potential to expand on certain points raised within the article. For example, Smailes does not fully develop her discussion of the TA's collection of casts by contemporary Continental sculptors (rather than Antique examples) and of *écorché* casts, significant points to be explored further in this research.

View of Existing Controversies and Transactions during the Last Twenty-Seven Years, Relative to Art in Scotland (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1846).

⁴⁰ For example, see Lindsay Errington, "Subversion in the Sculpture Gallery: An Educational Experiment at the Trustees' Academy," *Journal of the History of Collections* 3, no. 2 (1991).

There are two unpublished contributions that explore aspects of the TA's history: Patricia Brookes's thesis, *The Trustees' Academy, Edinburgh – 1760-1801: The Public Patronage of Art and Design in the Scottish Enlightenment* (1989) and Joanna Soden's thesis, *Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910* (2006). Brookes's research focused on the separate identity of post-union Scottish art and pinpoints the Edinburgh Enlightenment *milieu* as responsible for fostering this new identity. Her thesis establishes the progression of the TA's teaching methods and its development towards the status of a fully-fledged art academy. However, she focuses on the eighteenth-century history of the TA and thus her thesis acts as a precursor to this one.

Soden's thesis examined the teaching and exhibitions role of the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA) in the nineteenth century. Given the close (and often hostile) relationship that existed between the TA and the RSA in the first half of the century, her thesis refers to some of the pedagogical and institutional developments that took place in the TA. Her primary focus, however, is the historical narrative and analysis of the RSA's activities. In relation to the present thesis, Soden's work is informative in terms of its discussion of the RSA's collections⁴¹ (which often directly impacted TA students) or in highlighting the often-overlooked role of TA-educated masters or artists, such as Thomas Duncan (1807-1845) and David Scott.⁴² Although there are overlaps between Soden's research and this thesis, the latter uses the TA as a focus rather than as an institution for exhaustive study.

TA Artists

Contemporary biographies were published on influential TA artists, including: Allan Cunningham's *The life of Sir David Wilkie: With His Journals, Tours, and Critical Remarks on Works of Art, and a Selection of His Correspondence* (1843); Walter Armstrong's *The Art of William Quiller Orchardson* (1895), Edward Pinnington's *George Paul Chalmers, R.S.A., and the Art of His Time* (1896), Martin Hardie's *John Pettie R.A., H.R.S.A.* (1908) and James Caw's *William McTaggart RSA V.P.R.S.W: a Biography and an Appreciation* (1917). This list is by no means exhaustive, although it is worth pointing out that these biographies are the first point of entry in gaining further information on these

⁴¹ In particular, see Soden's published article that derived from her thesis: 'The John Frederick Lewis Collection at the Royal Scottish Academy: Watercolour Copies of Old Masters as Teaching Aids' in Potter, (ed.), *The Concept of the "Master" in Art Education in Britain and Ireland, 1770 to the Present*, 63-80.

⁴² Joanna Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910", unpublished PhD thesis (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 2006), 58.

artists. In particular, William Bell Scott's (1811-1890) *Memoir of David Scott R.S.A.* (1850) is one of the few sources related to the artist's life and it is therefore important to this research.

Recent studies have been published on William Dyce, Charles Heath Wilson, David Octavius Hill and David Scott.⁴³ The most important of these are Pointon's, Babington et al and Stevenson's contributions. Pointon's book is a biography and analysis of Dyce's oeuvre. A proportion of the book's content is dependent on the unpublished Dyce Papers, held in Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum, and it was the first source dedicated to Dyce's life and oeuvre. Much of Pointon's analysis focuses on Dyce's career in London, where he became the Superintendent of the Central School of Design; this thesis, however, focuses on Dyce's links with Scottish art. The essays contained in *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision* offer new interpretations of Dyce's work, and offer focused analysis of neglected aspects of Dyce's work (including his personal oils of the 1830s). Stevenson's excellent book *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill* (2002) is significant for providing a closer examination of the pioneering calotypes made by Hill and Robert Adamson (1821-1848).⁴⁴ Given Hill's prominent position as RSA Secretary, her study also forms a backdrop to the institutional, social and cultural environments of early nineteenth-century Edinburgh; the artistic and cultural context she establishes is pertinent to the development of the TA as an institution in the nineteenth century.

It is also important to highlight contributions from Errington and Per Kvaerne on William McTaggart, both of which are reliant on Caw's biography.⁴⁵ Both studies are formed as part biography and analysis of his oeuvre. Of the two, Errington's is the more scholarly; she was the first to analyse the influence of the Pre-Raphaelites on McTaggart's oeuvre.⁴⁶

⁴³ Marcia Pointon, *William Dyce, 1806-1864: A Critical Biography* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Clarendon Press, 1979). Caroline Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen City Council, 2006). George Smith-Fairfull, Sally Rush and George Rawson (ed.), *Missionary of Art: Charles Heath Wilson, 1809-1882* (Glasgow: The Foulis Press; Glasgow School of Art, 2000). Colin Ford (ed.), *An Early Victorian Album: The Photographic Masterpieces (1843-1847) of David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976). Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*. Mungo Campbell, *David Scott, 1806-1849* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1990). It is worth noting that Stevenson has also published numerous articles on Hill and Scottish photography more generally, not listed here.

⁴⁴ Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 76-82.

⁴⁵ Lindsay Errington, *William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, exhibition catalogue (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1989). Per Kvaerne, *Singing Songs of the Scottish Heart: William McTaggart, 1835-1910* (Edinburgh: Atelier Books, 2007). Errington has also researched other Scott Lauder students, including Orchardson. See Errington, *Sir William Quiller Orchardson, 1832-1910* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1980).

⁴⁶ Errington, *William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 24 and 59. Jennifer Melville, "John Everett Millais and His Scottish Friends," Further discussions of the Scottish Pre-Raphaelite connections took place recently at the

This thesis aims to integrate McTaggart more fully into the tradition of Scottish figurative painting, while being aware of the influence of British and Continental movements in relation to his art. In terms of students from the Trustees' School of Art, studies have been contributed that focus on prominent artists, including Edward Atkinson Hornel (1864-1933).⁴⁷ With the exception of Pointon, Errington, Stevenson and Kvaerne, the studies listed do not have the scope to explore each artist's oeuvre with the detail required to elucidate their TA inheritance or connections.

Art education in its wider context

Conferences held by the Tate (*Art School Educated*, April 2011) and by the University College London Art Museum (*Art Schools: Invention, Invective and Radical Possibilities*, June 2011) demonstrate a resurgence of interest in the topic of art education, and provide further impetus for the study of the model in Scottish figurative art. Of particular note, amongst earlier publications in art education are Nikolaus Pevsner's *Academies of Art: Past and Present* (1940) and *Academies of Art Between Renaissance and Romanticism* (1989), both of which serve as far-reaching reference studies in art education and art institutions. *Academies of Art* includes an essay and life study with illustrations by artists from the Accademia de San Luca in Rome, which many Scots attended prior to the foundation of the TA.⁴⁸ When examining studies in relation to the RA, contemporary sources include J.E. Hodgson and Fred Eaton's *The Royal Academy and its Members 1768-1830* (1905) although as indicated by the title, this account does not detail the Victorian period, the primary focus of this research.⁴⁹ Charles Holmes's history of the RA (1904) is of its period, with declarations of 'genius... well represented in English art.'⁵⁰ Sidney C. Hutchinson's narrative account consolidates RA history,⁵¹ while Christopher Forbes and Allen Staley's catalogue of Victorian paintings exhibited at the RA included

annual conference for the Scottish Society for Art History (2012), although the published papers do not specifically refer to TA students. See in particular: Jennifer Melville, *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, 17, The Pre-Raphaelites: New Interdisciplinary Research (2013-2012).

⁴⁷ Bill Smith, *Hornel: The Life & Work of Edward Atkinson Hornel* (Edinburgh: Atelier Books, 1997). The literature on Hornel's associated artistic group, the 'Glasgow Boys', has received more recent scholarly attention. The 'Glasgow Boys' were the subject of a major exhibition at the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow (9 April-27 September 2010). See for example: Jean Walsh and Hugh Stevenson, *Introducing the Glasgow Boys* (Glasgow: Culture and Sport Glasgow, 2010).

⁴⁸ Anton W.A. Boschloo et al., *Academies of Art between Renaissance and Romanticism* (S'Gravenhage: SDU, 1989). See Margaret F. MacDonald, 'British artists at the Accademia del Nudo in Rome.'

⁴⁹ A contemporary jocular account of RA history is Harry Furniss's, *Royal Academy Antics* (London: Cassell & Company Ltd, 1890).

⁵⁰ Charles Holmes (ed.), *The Royal Academy from Reynolds to Millais* (London, Paris and New York: The Studio, 1904), i.

⁵¹ Sidney C. Hutchison, *The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1986* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1968).

Scots artists Dyce and Orchardson but focused on their RA connections.⁵² Forbes and Staley state that the dominant mode of Victorian painting was 'genre', which the authors trace to the artist Hogarth's 'distinctively British' style, later honed by Wilkie.⁵³ This discussion of English genre painting assists in providing some clarification in relation to the development of Scottish eighteenth-century genre.

There are scholarly accounts that also attempt to recover the contributions of female artists in the nineteenth century. Notable amongst these are studies by Griselda Pollock, Pamela Gerrish Nunn, Jan Marsh, Deborah Cherry and Charlotte Yeldham.⁵⁴ Female Scottish artists are included in these studies, although the most comprehensive study of Scots women artists is by Janice Helland as she discusses aspects of the TA's educational programme.⁵⁵

Turning to the wider literature on art academies, more recently *Art in the Age of Queen Victoria* (1999), *The King's Artists, the Royal Academy of Arts and English Culture 1760-1840* (2003) and *Living with the Royal Academy: Artistic Ideals and Experiences in England, 1768-1848* (2013) offer new perspectives on the RA's history.⁵⁶ The former has two chapters that discuss the status and function of the RA during the Victorian period, departing from the bulk of the literature that focuses on the foundation of the RA (1768). However, Hooch's study offers an academic discussion of the politics involved in the early years of the RA's foundation, and his suggestion of an emerging Scottish style via Wilkie is most pertinent to this thesis.

⁵²Christopher Forbes and Allen (ed.) Staley, *The Royal Academy (1837-1901) Revisited: Victorian Paintings from the Forbes Magazine Collections* (New York: Forbes, 1975).

⁵³ Ibid, 10.

⁵⁴ Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and the Histories of Art*, 3rd edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2007); Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists* (London: Women's Press, 1987); Jan Marsh, *Pre-Raphaelite Sisterhood* (London: Quartet Books, 1985); Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900* (London: Routledge, 2000); Charlotte Yeldham, *Women Artists in Nineteenth-Century France and England: Their Art Education, Exhibition Opportunities and Membership of Exhibiting Societies, with an Assessment of the Subject Matter of Their Work and Summary Biographies* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1984).

⁵⁵ Janice Helland, *Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Commitment, Friendship, Pleasure* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000). Also see: Shannon Hunter Hurtado, *Genteel Mavericks: Professional Women Sculptors in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2012). Although women were given permission to study at the TA from its inception, this appeared to end with the tenure of John Graham in 1798. Women were not again admitted to the TA until 1854, although they had been permitted to draw from casts in the Statue Gallery from the 1830s. Women had been admitted to the national Female School of Design in London from 1837, and at the Glasgow Government School of Design, women were admitted from 1847.

⁵⁶ Helen Valentine (ed.), *Art in the Age of Queen Victoria: Treasures from the Royal Academy of Arts Permanent Collection* (New Haven and London: Royal Academy of Arts in association with Yale University Press, 1999); Holger Hooch, *The King's Artists: The Royal Academy of Arts and the Politics of British Culture, 1760-1840* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Sarah Monks, John Barrell, and Mark Hallett (eds.), *Living with the Royal Academy: Artistic Ideals and Experiences in England, 1768-1848* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

In terms of the literature on the Government Schools of Design, two books dominate this field: Quentin Bell's *The Schools of Design* (1963) and Stuart Macdonald's *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (1970).⁵⁷ In contrast to Bell's methodical approach, Macdonald's chapter structure is idiosyncratic: he offers a basic chronology of the foundation of the Schools of Design. This approach is combined with sections on the politics and sociological implications that arose from this new system of education. Macdonald's account offers more in the way of contextual analysis, including later developments in art education such as the foundation of the Slade School of Fine Art. He arguably underestimates Dyce's progressive role in art education, stating that 'Dyce was preoccupied with methods, not with art,' in contrast to Bell's discussion of Dyce's 'progress' between 1838 and 1843.⁵⁸ Dyce's role in art education has been analysed up to a point, mostly with reference to the *Letter to Lord Meadowbank* and his subsequent post as Superintendent and Professor of the Normal School of Design in London in 1838.⁵⁹ There however remains scope to explore Dyce's influence and educational methodologies as they were implemented in the TA, and this thesis attempts to fill this gap. Another useful source by Frayling et al provides the general historic narrative in the formation of the Schools of Design.⁶⁰

More focused studies of regional Government Schools of Design have been carried out by Peter James Cunningham, Heather Williams, David Jeremiah, Marjorie Allthorpe-Guyton, Stephen Wildman and Carol A. Jones respectively.⁶¹ Cunningham's unpublished PhD thesis is an examination of the context for the foundation of the Schools of Design in Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds. This thesis builds on the scholarship of Bell and Macdonald by taking into account the impetus for the Schools of Design: the public

⁵⁷ Quentin Bell, *The Schools of Design* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963); Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*. A brief overview of the Schools of Design is also contained in Arthur D. Efland, *A History of Art Education: Intellectual and Social Currents in Teaching the Visual Arts* (New York and London: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1990), 57-62.

⁵⁸ Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*, 119; Bell, *The Schools of Design*, 87.

⁵⁹ Pointon, *William Dyce, 1806-1864: A Critical Biography*; Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910." Charles Heath Wilson, the co-author of the *Letter to Lord Meadowbank* and Dyce's successor, has recently received scholarly attention in Fairfull-Smith, Rush and Rawson (ed.), *Missionary of Art: Charles Heath Wilson, 1809-1882*.

⁶⁰ Frayling et al., *The Royal College of Art: One Hundred & Fifty Years of Art & Design*.

⁶¹ Peter James Cunningham, "The Formation of the Schools of Design, 1830-1850, with Special Reference to Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds", unpublished PhD thesis (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1979). Heather Williams, "The Lives and Works of Nottingham Artists from 1750 to 1914 with Special Consideration of Their Association with the Lace Industry and Society at Large", unpublished PhD thesis (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 1981). David Jeremiah, *School of Art: A Hundred Years and More* (Manchester: Faculty of Art & Design, Manchester Polytechnic, 1980); Marjorie Allthorpe-Guyton and John Stevens, *A Happy Eye: A School of Art in Norwich, 1845-1982* (Norwich: Jarrold & Sons Ltd, 1982); Stephen Wildman, *The Birmingham School: Paintings, Drawings and Prints by Birmingham Artists from the Permanent Collection* (Birmingham: Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery, 1990); Carol A Jones, *A History of Nottingham School of Design* (Nottingham: Nottingham Trent University Faculty of Art & Design, 1993).

encouragement of art and the formation of a 'national' style. These histories of the aforementioned Schools – a selection of the provincial Schools of Design – show that they were often beset with financial, institutional and teaching problems.⁶² It is clear that the success of an individual School was often dependent on its Headmaster, as illustrated by the success of the Headmaster of the Glasgow School of Art, Francis Henry Newbery (1855-1946), better known as 'Fra Newbery.' This also draws attention to the fact that the TA was an isolated example in the history of the Schools of Design with almost one hundred years of history prior to its affiliation with the Science and Art Department in 1858. As it was established much earlier than the other Schools it therefore had amassed a sizeable cast collection and held academic aims that were not solely limited to designs for manufactures.

The TA post-1858, then the Trustees' School of Art, has received very little scholarly attention⁶³ in contrast to the Glasgow Government School of Design, or the Glasgow School of Art (GSA) from 1853.⁶⁴ Despite Hugh Ferguson's overview of the GSA from its inception to the (then) current day, George Rawson has more recently completed a comprehensive history of the School, with particular focus on the impact of Newbery's tenure. This line of research has been further developed by Rawson in *The Flower and the Green Leaf: Glasgow School of Art in the Time of Charles Rennie Mackintosh* (2009) where he makes an important link to the evolution of Newbery's teaching methodologies in relation to the tutelage of Edward Poynter (1836-1919), the first Professor of the Slade School of Art.⁶⁵ As there is a wealth of literature that tends to focus on the artists of the GSA during the late Victorian era,⁶⁶ particularly through the development of crafts and the

⁶² Jeanne Sheehy has discussed artists' move to the Continent as an alternative to the RA and the 'South Kensington System'. See Sheehy, "The Flight from South Kensington: British Artists at the Antwerp Academy 1877-1885," *Art History* 20, no. 1 (March 1997).

⁶³ With the exception of some brief discussion in Soden's "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910."

⁶⁴ George Mansell Rawson, "Francis Henry Newbery and the Glasgow School of Art" (Glasgow School of Art, 1996). H. Ferguson, *Glasgow School of Art: The History*; Ray MacKenzie, *The Flower and the Green Leaf: Glasgow School of Art in the Time of Charles Rennie Mackintosh* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2009).

⁶⁵ In terms of literature related to the Slade School of Art, see: Martin Postle, "The Foundation of the Slade School of Fine Art: Fifty-Nine Letters in the Record Office of University College, London," *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 58 (1995-1996).

⁶⁶ See, for example, works focused on the 'Glasgow Four', particularly with reference to the artist and designer Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928): Timothy Neat, *Part Seen, Part Imagined: Meaning and Symbolism in the Work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret MacDonald* (Edinburgh: Canongate Press, 1994); Roger Billcliffe, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh: The Complete Furniture, Furniture Drawings & Interior Designs*, fourth edition (Moffat: Cameron & Hollis, 2009).

applied arts, this thesis seeks to address the Trustees' School of Art's position in relation to the development of its teaching methodologies as part of the 'South Kensington System.'⁶⁷

Life models

The past twenty years have witnessed an increasing amount of literature on the topic of the artist's model, although there were two major contributions before then. Muriel Segal's *Dolly on the Dais: The Artist's Model in Perspective* (1972) sought to highlight the mythologies of desire that are associated with the nineteenth-century female artist's model, although as the author does not critically evaluate these mythologies, this text is not of serious scholarly worth. The first important study published on the subject was Frances Borzello's *The Artist's Model* (1982). This book examined the history of the model, including the development of the professional model and the studio model. Borzello offers an overview of developments in British art education in the long nineteenth century, but the dominant focus is the RA and there are no references to Scottish systems of art education or Scottish artists' models. Jill Berk Jiminez, Jane Desmarais, Martin Postle and William Vaughan have made more recent contributions to the field.⁶⁸ Jiminez's dictionary serves as a reference tool, although it is not an exhaustive catalogue of models and could be better balanced through focusing on a specific period of time, as the topic is understandably vast. Desmarais, Postle and Vaughan contributed and edited a series of essays related to the artists' model in British art. The essays explore themes related to the tenuous social position of the Victorian female model, and how the advent of Realism contributed to the changing role of the model in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶⁹ Postle's discussion is perhaps the most relevant to this thesis; he explored the Victorian modelling profession by evaluating the ways in which "the relative status of the

⁶⁷ Nicola Gordon Bowe and Elizabeth Cumming, *The Arts and Crafts Movements in Dublin & Edinburgh 1885-1925* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998). The authors discuss the Trustees' School of Art's transformation into the Edinburgh College of Art; however, the study is angled towards the Celtic Revival and of the Arts and Crafts Movement in late nineteenth-century Edinburgh.

⁶⁸ Jill Berk Jiminez, *The Dictionary of Artists' Models* (London; Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001); Jane Desmarais, Martin Postle, and William Vaughan (eds.), *Model and Supermodel: the Artist's Model in British Art and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006). A more idiosyncratic approach to the topic of artists' models is taken in France Borel's, *The Seduction of Venus: Artists and Models*, trans. Jean-Marie Clarke (New York: Skira/Rizzoli, 1990). There are also studies that have explored the artist's model with reference to specific artists. See: Karen L. Kleinfelder, *The Artist, His Model, Her Image, His Gaze: Picasso's Pursuit of the Model* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Eunice Lipton, *Alias Olympia: A Woman's Search for Manet's Notorious Model & Her Own Desire* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1993).

⁶⁹ It is worth noting here that there are numerous studies devoted to the Pre-Raphaelite circle and the cult that developed around particular Pre-Raphaelite models, including Elizabeth Siddal and Jane Morris. See, for example, Jan Marsh, *Pre-Raphaelite Women: Images of Femininity in Pre-Raphaelite Art* (London: Guild Publishing, 1987).

male and female model as a recognised trade or profession has evolved.”⁷⁰ While he focuses on the RA, his discussion presents opportunities to think specifically about the types of models the TA employed, and to question if a similar professional network was recognisable in Scottish institutions.

The artist’s model had been a focus of Postle’s research prior to *Model and Supermodel*, which resulted in exhibitions on the subject in collaboration with Ilaria Bignamini and with William Vaughan. Postle and Bignamini’s catalogue text⁷¹ was the first to discuss and illustrate the (mostly English) pedagogical approaches to the development of the human form, and it also included discussion of the antique, *écorché* and anatomy.⁷² It is a well-organised production; wide ranges of illustrations are included from the British academic system, enhancing the reader’s understanding of pedagogic processes by means of visual aids. However, as many of the illustrations in Bignamini and Postle’s catalogue are drawn from the RA, it demonstrates that there are gaps in relation to the regional studies of life models and of regional academic systems. This gap is addressed in Postle’s later collaboration with Vaughan,⁷³ which focused on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rather than approaching life models from a primarily pedagogic standpoint, Postle and Vaughan adopt a thematic approach, including art school models, studio models, the muse, and the Victorian debate of the naked and the nude in art. The catalogue is significant for being the only study to include a wide range of visual examples from the RA, private art schools and from the Government Schools of Design. Its section on art schools largely pulls together information that is available in other sources, although its inclusion of regional examples with the often-used RA template opens up the possibilities for further pedagogical comparisons.

It is worth mentioning an area of scholarship that has focused on social types of artists’ models, including discussions of gender and ethnicity. Marie Lathers, Susan Waller and

⁷⁰ Postle, ‘Naked civil servants: the professional life model in British art and society’, 9, in Desmarais, Postle, and Vaughan, *Model and Supermodel : The Artist’s Model in British Art and Culture*.

⁷¹ Ilaria Bignamini and Martin Postle, *The Artist’s Model: Its Role in British Art from Lely to Etty* (Nottingham: University Art Gallery, 1991).

⁷² In terms of recent texts on the topic of anatomy, Mimi Cazort, Monique Kornell, and K.B. Roberts, *The Ingenious Machine of Nature: Four Centuries of Art and Anatomy* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1996) focuses on the publication history of anatomical texts by tracing dominant illustrative stylistic traits in anatomical studies. Martin Kemp and Marina Wallace, *Spectacular Bodies: The Art and Science of the Human Body from Leonardo to Now* (London; Berkeley: Hayward Gallery; University of California, 2000) have more recently offered the new approach of anatomy as ‘work of art’ rather than as a scientific aid. These books aid this research by consolidating dominant illustrative approaches by anatomists and artists.

⁷³ Martin Postle and William Vaughan, *The Artist’s Model: From Etty to Spencer* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999).

Jan Marsh⁷⁴ have paved the way in this field by focusing on social groups within modelling communities, specifically Jewish, Italian and black models. These groups are ‘visually marginal’⁷⁵ within the wider context of Western artists’ models. This is a growing area of scholarship⁷⁶ and it requires more examination within its local British context, an area to which this thesis seeks to contribute, as it considers that the TA used Indian and Italian models.

In relation to Victorian photography and artists’ models, the work of Sara Stevenson has already been mentioned, although Roddy Simpson’s contribution is also valuable as a more general discussion of Scottish photography of the period.⁷⁷ More generally in terms of nineteenth-century photography, Julian Cox and Colin Ford, Stephanie Spencer and Robin Simon have carried out noteworthy studies on individual Victorian photographers, although as this thesis is primarily concerned with figurative painting, the work of Victorian photographers, not including Hill and Adamson, is largely excluded from this discussion.⁷⁸

The Victorian nude

As this thesis necessitates an examination of life studies, an understanding of the research carried out on the Victorian nude is essential. Recent scholarship has examined the landmark social and political events that debated the morally corrupting and socially subversive effects of the nude/naked life model. For example, one of the Victorian discussions with regard to the nude model was discussed by *The Art-Journal*, which stated that ‘the study of the nude is indispensable to the profession of Art (sic)’ and ‘that it has a demoralizing tendency we fearlessly deny.’⁷⁹ In the twentieth century the eminent art

⁷⁴ Marie Lathers, “The Social Construction and Deconstruction of the Female Model in 19th-Century France,” *Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature* 29, no. 2 (June 1996); Marie Lathers, “Posing the ‘Belle Juive’: Jewish Models in 19th-Century Paris,” *Women’s Art Journal* 21, no. 1 (2000). Susan Waller, *The Invention of the Model: Artists and Models in Paris, 1830-1870* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Jan (ed.) Marsh, *Black Victorians: Black People in British Art 1800-1900* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2005). Claire O’Mahony has expanded on Lathers’s and Waller’s discussions of Parisian social types in modeling communities. See “Modern Muses: Representing the Life Model in Fin de Siècle France,” *Art on the Line* 1, no. 3 (2003).

⁷⁵ Marsh, *Black Victorians: Black People in British Art 1800-1900*, 13 and 16.

⁷⁶ Vincent Boele, *Black Is Beautiful: Rubens to Dumas* (Amsterdam; De Nieuwe Kerk; Zwolle: Waanders, 2008) includes images of black models in art, although black Victorians are excluded from his discussion.

⁷⁷ Roddy Simpson, *The Photography of Victorian Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).

⁷⁸ Julian Cox et al., *Julia Margaret Cameron: The Complete Photographs* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003); Stephanie Spencer, *O.G. Rejlander: Photography as Art* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1985); Robin Simon (ed.), *Public Artist, Private Passions: The World of Edward Linley Sambourne* (London: Leighton House Museum, 2001). There are many other studies on Victorian photography and photographers. The ones listed here were consulted in the process of this research, and it should be indicated that the list is by no means exhaustive.

⁷⁹ Anon, “The Study of the ‘Figure,’” *The Art Journal*, September 1859.

historian Kenneth Clark echoed the Victorians by clearly differentiating between the naked and the nude. Similarly he believed that the life model was rendered nude when s/he was cloaked in the aesthetics of art, which was representative of ideal beauty and academic training.⁸⁰ Later in the century the feminist art historian Lynda Nead sought to demonstrate why Clark's position on the nude was limiting.⁸¹

More recently the field has been defined by the scholarship of Alison Smith. Her seminal text *The Victorian Nude: Sexuality, Morality and Art*⁸² was the first to explore the topic of the Victorian nude as framed within her (for it is mostly a discussion of the female nude) wider artistic, social, and political context. Smith addressed the wider historic context for the nude in Victorian art schools, including the regional Schools of Design, but rather than comparing and contrasting the curricula within regional art schools, the focus is largely London-centric. Smith has discussed the topic of the Victorian nude and moral purity elsewhere, generally via case studies, and most notably her rediscovery of the 1885 'British Matron' scandal illustrated the height of Victorian moral panic over nudity in art, with a letter written to *The Times* and signed 'A British Matron.'⁸³ More directly related to this research is Smith's exhibition catalogue *Exposed: the Victorian nude* (2001). In her catalogue essay, Smith discussed pictorial 'types' of Victorian nudes, from the early Victorian 'Anglo-Venetian' nude to the Neoclassical nude. The Scots were included under the term of "'English Nude"... ostensibly a synonym for "British."'⁸⁴ However Smith's discussion of the 'English Nude' as a 'complex set of cultural and historical associations within an exclusive concept centered on London and the South' excludes the potential for different types of intellectual and artistic growth that took place in provinces of the United Kingdom, including Edinburgh.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Kenneth Clark, *The Nude: A Study of Ideal Art* (London: John Murray, 1956).

⁸¹ Lynda Nead, *The Female Nude : Art, Obscenity, and Sexuality* (London: Routledge, 1992). Nead discusses other theorists including Derrida, Tim Clark and John Berger in relation to the topic and states that for Clark and Berger, the nude is cast negatively in comparison to the naked. Nead's discussion is one of critical analysis of other theorists' positions rather than of the social or historical contexts for the paintings themselves. Without wishing to oversimplify her complex argument, for Nead, the nude was represented by aesthetic language; the naked was representative of obscenity.

⁸² Alison Smith, *The Victorian Nude: Sexuality, Morality and Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

⁸³ See for example: Smith, 'Nature Transformed: Leighton, the nude and the model' from Tim Barringer and Elizabeth Prettejohn (eds.), *Frederic Leighton: Antiquity, Renaissance, Modernity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999). Smith, 'The "British Matron" and the body beautiful: the nude debate of 1885' from Elizabeth Prettejohn (ed.), *After the Pre-Raphaelites: Art and Aestheticism in Victorian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

⁸⁴ Alison Smith (ed.), *Exposed: The Victorian Nude* (London: Tate Gallery, 2001), 11.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

Studies have explored issues of identity and sexuality in relation to Victorian male artists⁸⁶, although few studies are exclusively devoted to the subject of the male nude.⁸⁷ Martin Myrone's study⁸⁸ has offered a new way of examining the heroic male figure in eighteenth-century art, particularly as he includes chapters on the Scottish neoclassicists Gavin Hamilton and Alexander Runciman. Myrone juxtaposes the 'historicized paradigms' of masculinity with modern masculinity as it was experienced contemporaneously, taking into account the changing social, political and economic changes of the eighteenth century.⁸⁹ Most pertinent to this research is Myrone's chapter on Runciman in which he suggests that Runciman's Ossian mural scheme for Penicuik House was one in which the figures demonstrated a new 'heroic physicality' in history painting, while the subject explored issues of Scottish nationalism.⁹⁰ Myrone's discussion of this 'heroic physicality' in relation to Scots identity offers a new way to interpret Scottish heroic painting of the nineteenth century by tracing the legacy of Celtic poeticism back to Runciman.

Terminology

The emergent themes from the literature reviewed shows that the concept of national identity in late eighteenth-century Scottish art was visually associated with Celtic/Scottish poetry that offered a vision of an unaffected, idyllic or 'natural' way of life. As scholars have suggested, this emerged in the romanticised classical forms of Runciman and through depictions of nature in the 'genre' subjects of Allan.⁹¹ However, the research for this thesis has been undertaken with awareness that the definitions of terms in relation to specific artistic styles need further clarification. Runciman, for example, can be considered as an exponent of Romanticism in that he placed 'emotion and intuition before... reason [and

⁸⁶ James Eli Adams, *Dandies and desert saints: Styles of Victorian masculinity* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1995); Amelia Jones, 'Clothes Make the Man: The Male Artist as a Performative Function', *Oxford Art Journal*, 18:5 (1995), 18-32; Andrew Stephenson, 'Refashioning modern masculinity: Whistler, aestheticism, and national identity' from *English Art 1860-1914: modern artists and identity*, edited by David Peters Corbett and Lara Perry (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000). The literature on the topic of male identity is often devoted to the study of masculinity. In terms of heroism, Joseph A. Kestner has identified 'types' of Victorian pictorial heroes, from 'The Classical Hero' to 'The Valiant Soldier.' See Kestner, *Masculinities in Victorian Painting* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995).

⁸⁷ The study of the male nude has largely been absorbed into the contributions on the model and the Victorian nude, as already mentioned. It is worth pointing out that a chapter on the male nude in relation to French painting can be found in Gary Tinterow and Henri Loyrette, *Origins of Impressionism* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994).

⁸⁸ Martin Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 3.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ 'Alexander Runciman in Rome and Edinburgh', Ibid, 152-155 and 161.

⁹¹ Although Scottish genre painting is included in the histories of Scottish art already referred to, limited discussions of genre painting are included in: Lambourne, *An Introduction to "Victorian" Genre Painting: From Wilkie to Frith*. See also Richard R. Brettell and Caroline B. Brettell, *Painters and Peasants in the Nineteenth Century* (Geneva: Skira, 1983).

held] a belief in the general importance of the individual.’⁹² Runciman was also inspired by Celtic poetry and the depiction of an ancient civilization, as shown by his Ossian murals. Allan, too, was inspired by poetry; his explorations of Scottish national identity owed to the poetic traditions of Ramsay and Burns and suggest that he was also preoccupied with visually rendering an idealised ‘Golden Age.’ Both Runciman and Allan were therefore developing visions of a ‘natural’ and national vision for Scottish art. Allan’s approach, however, was more directly inspired by nature as he copied from life. Thus it is perhaps more fitting to suggest that Allan’s vision of Scottish subjects can be defined as pastoral. The pastoral is understood to refer to a

... genre of painting whose subject is the idealized life of shepherds who sing, make love, and graze their flocks in an ideally beautiful landscape; such works represent the courtier’s or city-dweller’s dream of escape, and the genre suggests longing for a past Golden Age or a remote Arcadia.⁹³

Duncan Forbes, however, presents a counter argument to the dominance of genre and pastoral subjects in late eighteenth-century Scottish art.⁹⁴ Without wishing to oversimplify Forbes’s complex discussion, he has suggested that eighteenth-century genre painting – as believed to be inherently ‘authentic’ in its depictions of rural Scotland – was part of a myth constructed by contemporary historians and still perpetuated in more recent analyses.⁹⁵ He has also stated that ‘pastoralism’ was associated with the tension between the ‘real and the ideal.’⁹⁶ This thesis acknowledges that eighteenth-century representations of ‘naturalism’ are not understood to be realistic facsimiles of Scottish rural or peasant life. Indeed, as Forbes has discussed, pastoral and genre subjects were partly created in response to a host of complex cultural issues, including social class and politics.⁹⁷

Definitions of naturalism, related particularly to the mid/late nineteenth century, are more numerous.⁹⁸ Broadly, it is understood to be a movement that represented ‘actual, rather

⁹² Subject entry for ‘Romanticism’, *Oxford Art Online: The Oxford Companion to Western Art*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T073207?q=romanticism&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit.

⁹³ Subject entry for ‘pastoral’, *Oxford Art Online: The Oxford Companion to Western Art*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t118/e1990?q=pastoral&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit

⁹⁴ Duncan Forbes, “‘Dodging and Watching the Natural Incidents of the Peasantry’: Genre Painting in Scotland 1780-1830,” *Oxford Art Journal* 23, no. 2 (2000).

⁹⁵ Ibid, 83. In particular, Forbes highlights that genre painting in early nineteenth-century Scotland requires further examination in terms of social class, the patronage system and the rise of art institutions in the formation of Scotland’s national visual identity and interpretation.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 85.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 86-87.

⁹⁸ See Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art: Naturalism, Impressionism, the Film Age*, Volume IV, third edition (London: Routledge, 1999), 60. He defined naturalism as ‘...romanticism with new conventions... The most important difference between naturalism and romanticism consists in the scientism of this new trend, in the portrayal of facts.’ See also Robert Rosenblum and H.W. Janson, *Art of the Nineteenth Century*

than religious and imaginary, subject matter. It implies a style in which the artist tries to observe and then faithfully record the subject before him without deliberate idealization or stylization'⁹⁹ with emphasis on the 'empiricism of the natural sciences.'¹⁰⁰ Scottish artists were taking steps towards naturalist methods in the early nineteenth century by way of methods that combined science with artistic techniques. In this thesis, this approach is referred to as empiricism or the pursuit of 'knowledge by means of direct observation, investigation, or experiment.'¹⁰¹ Another useful definition of naturalism – updated with reference to French painting of the second half of the nineteenth century – can perhaps be applied to mid/late nineteenth century depictions of Scottish naturalism.¹⁰² Richard Thomson has stated that naturalism 'was a cultural movement... [and] had echoes of the natural sciences...' yet it also was representative of 'exactitude.'¹⁰³ This was culturally understood to be 'a virtue, overlapping with scientific accuracy (precise evidence, pure knowledge) and moral truth (honesty, clear thinking, *bon sens*).'¹⁰⁴ The understanding of naturalism – an artistic approach with visual or symbolic moral substance – may be useful in terms of understanding mid-Victorian Scottish artists' approaches to figurative painting, such as Dyce.

Contribution to research and aims

This thesis will seek to establish how far naturalism was a recurring theme in the treatment of the figure in Scottish nineteenth-century painting. As the TA educated many of the

(London: Thames & Hudson, 1984), 157. Naturalism has been defined by Rosenblum and Janson as referring to 'truth to nature' with 'authentic firsthand experience.' It should be noted that Iris Wien wrote an essay on the theories of Joshua Reynolds in relation to naturalism. See Wein 'Naturalising Tradition: Why Learn from the Masters?' in Matthew C. Potter, ed., *The Concept of the "Master" in Art Education in Britain and Ireland, 1770 to the Present* (Oxford: Ashgate, 2013), 29-46.

⁹⁹ Subject entry for 'naturalism,' *Oxford Art Online: The Oxford Companion to Western Art*. http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T061451?q=naturalism&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit. The mid-nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of Realism, described as the attempt to 'create objective representations of the external world based on the impartial observation of contemporary life.' This movement is often differentiated from naturalism by its social and political overtones. Subject entry for 'realism', *Oxford Art Online: The Oxford Companion to Western Art*.

http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t118/e2187?q=realism&search=quick&pos=3&_start=1#firsthit.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Subject entry for 'empirical', *Oxford English Dictionary: The Definitive Record of the English Language*, March 2014, <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/Entry/61341?redirectedFrom=empirical#eid>.

¹⁰² Gabriel Weisberg and Edwin Becker have recently described late-nineteenth century French naturalism as 'based upon the everyday lives of ordinary people and characterised by its focus on social reality...'. Gabriel P. Weisberg et al., *Illusions of Reality: Naturalist Painting, Photography, Theatre and Cinema, 1875-1918* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2011), 13-16. As Weisberg has recognised with particular regard to French nineteenth-century painting, the terms Naturalist, realist and naturalism were all in usage, with realism and naturalism sometimes being interchangeable. Also see, for example: Roger Billcliffe, *The Glasgow Boys: The Glasgow School of Painting 1875-189*.

¹⁰³ Richard Thomson, *Art of the Actual: Naturalism and Style in Early Third Republic France, 1880-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 9.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

dominant Scottish artists of the Victorian era, it tests the hypothesis that a number of approaches to naturalism were fostered by the institution, both by its curriculum and by the teaching styles and aims of its masters. More specifically, it will consider how far the eighteenth-century strands of poetry, identified as ‘Celtic’ and ‘pastoral’, thematically and stylistically influenced the figurative art of TA artists. In doing so, it will seek to examine the methods of the TA in more detail. It will also re-examine the work of Scottish artists previously excluded from naturalist tradition, or given little attention there, such as Dyce. The research aims to provide a better understanding of the Scottish pedagogical role in nineteenth-century art education in comparison with other institutions, with a special emphasis on the use of the model.

In particular, this research will need to establish if naturalist tendencies were present in Scottish art and curriculums prior to the movement towards naturalism at the end of the eighteenth century. Moreover, with specific reference to the TA, it will investigate the extent to which ‘naturalist’ tendencies developed over time, c.1800–1900, with particular reference to the life model, the antique and to the study of anatomy. This thesis will also question how individual masters’ approaches to naturalism may have differed from each other. Another aim is to explore the relationship of photography with the students of the TA, especially given the prominent role of D.O. Hill in Edinburgh art education.

Methodology

As highlighted by the literature review, there are few published studies that provide a continuous history of the TA. In order to gain some clarity in terms of the institutional history of the TA, archival research was necessary. With reference to the Board of Manufactures and the TA, the primary sources consulted were the *Minute Books of the Board of Manufactures*, the *Day Secretary’s Books*, and *Letter Books*, mostly from c.1800–1858, and all kept in the National Archives of Scotland (NAS). Data related to the transition of the TA post-1858 was also collected from Trustees’ School of Art and Applied School of Art *Minute Books* in the Edinburgh College of Art. In terms of other Scottish art schools and technical colleges, records were examined for the Watt Institution, Heriot-Watt University, Anderson’s University, University of Strathclyde, and the Foulis Academy (and other smaller Scottish institutions and art classes), Department of Special Collections, University of Glasgow. Together with this archival data, visual sources were also consulted. The Scottish National Gallery of Art holds a small collection of cast drawings and life class paintings made by TA students, the RSA holds drawings and

paintings made by TA and Trustees' School of Art students, and the Edinburgh College of Art holds a majority of the existing TA cast collection. Many of the paintings discussed within this thesis are held in public collections across Scotland. The archival data collected was supplemented by further reading: period accounts in newspapers, artists' biographies and diaries, and contemporary art historical accounts. This contextual approach assisted in providing an institutional narrative for the TA yet providing a sense of the wider pedagogical scope for the prevalence of naturalism in Scottish figurative painting of the nineteenth century.

This thesis also adopts a comparative approach to measure and reflect upon the TA's teaching and institutional developments. This is achieved by examining some of the other dominant art schools in Scotland, the UK and on the Continent, as well as considering the influence of emergent art movements. Within Scotland, some of the art schools examined include: the Foulis Academy, Anderson's University, the Watt Institution, the RSA, and the Glasgow School of Art. In terms of the UK, the RA, some of the 'South Kensington' schools and the Slade School of Art acted as a framework from which to compare the TA's changes. On the Continent, the Accademia di San Luca, the *École des Beaux-Arts* and the Antwerp Academy were researched. Art movements within Europe, such as the Nazarenes, the Pre-Raphaelites, and the Hague School, will also be explored in relation to the style and approaches of individual TA masters and students.

Chapter Structure

The present chapter has sought to position the existing literature in relation to the primary research question: namely, to what extent did a distinctive style of figure painting emerge in Scotland c.1800-1900, and how far was this influenced or shaped by the TA and its legacy? The literature review has shown that historians have acknowledged the emergence of a Scottish School, with particular attention given to the students of Scott Lauder. The later chapters will test the hypothesis that naturalism was one of the unifying tendencies of the Scottish School, as fostered by Board of Manufactures and evident in the TA's pedagogical processes towards the figure.

The second research question seeks to discover whether the TA's teaching methodologies differed to other examples in Scotland, the United Kingdom and the Continent. This question follows a two-fold pattern, from the TA's autonomous management in the first half of the nineteenth century and then its affiliation to the Department of Science and Art

from 1858. Consideration will be given to the extent to which that the TA fostered naturalism in its pedagogical methods, and the thesis will seek to explore TA masters and students' responses to the human form, particularly with regard to painting, but also with reference to aspects of photography and sculpture. It will further examine the extent to which the TA was innovative in its methods and central to Scottish art education in the first half of the nineteenth century, and suggest that this gave way to a limited and rigid curriculum post-1858.

Chapter 2 will consider the traditions of figure painting in Scotland, particularly by exploring the pedagogic role of local art institutions prior to the foundation of the TA. It seeks to explore the emergence of Scottish naturalism in figurative painting in closer detail by focusing on Runciman and Allan, particularly with reference to the proposed concept of 'poetic naturalism' as discussed earlier in this chapter.

Chapter 3 seeks to explore how naturalism was manifested in the teaching methods of the TA. This will be attempted through a closer examination of the TA's cast collection, its life room, and its anatomy class, c.1800-1830, particularly by giving consideration to Edinburgh's central role for scientific and medical research in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although this chapter will provide a historic narrative for the TA in the early nineteenth century, it also seeks to answer questions related to the TA's purchase of contemporary casts and its employment of ethnic models.

Chapter 4 will seek to explore the relationship between naturalism and figure painting through the influence of the 'High Victorians', William Dyce and David Scott. It will reassess the prevailing interpretations of Dyce's oeuvre that have positioned him as closer to English artistic traditions and movements. Scott's revival of history painting will be examined more closely within the Scottish naturalist tradition, particularly with reference to the 'Celtic' style that emerged in Runciman's paintings. Consideration will also be given to the influence of Continental movements in the development of each artist's oeuvre.

Chapter 5 seeks to explore the mid-Victorian artists in Scotland in more detail, particularly the TA students under the tenure of Robert Scott Lauder. This chapter will explore Lauder's methods, particularly in the Life and Antique Academies. It will consider how far the calotypes of D.O. Hill may have informed Lauder's methods in terms of depictions of

the human form and naturalism. It will then focus more closely on William McTaggart, one of Lauder's students, by investigating how naturalism developed in his oeuvre.

The focus of Chapter 6 follows immediately after the Scott Lauder years; it discusses the period of the TA post-1858 when the life class was removed. The TA was integrated into the 'South Kensington System', thereafter known as the Trustees' School of Art. This chapter will seek to explore the extent to which teaching methods changed, and if naturalism was still perpetuated in the work of its students. The Trustees' School of Art will also be compared against other pedagogical systems, including the Slade School of Art and Continental examples.

Chapter 2: The Inheritance of Scottish Naturalism

The introductory chapter showed that historians have recognised the emergence of a type of figurative painting in the nineteenth-century, particularly in Scotland, that owed to the far-reaching popularity of Wilkie.¹ Wilkie was TA-educated and he studied under the artist John Graham, whose pedagogical improvements to the TA have already been acknowledged. Following his time at the TA, Wilkie became known for his genre paintings (fig 2.0). The word genre has been defined by the art historian Lionel Lambourne as ‘pictures of people; the portrayal of scenes from ordinary life, often with a narrative or anecdotal element.’² Given Wilkie’s influence as a figure painter, this chapter seeks to explore the extent to which these ‘pictures of people’ in ‘ordinary life’ were developed through the TA’s early pedagogical direction. This question is particularly pressing in view of the TA’s origins as an institution intended to train students in designs for manufactures. In particular, the Board of Manufactures’ appointment of Scottish fine artists as masters, specifically Alexander Runciman and David Allan, highlights a conflict in its early teaching methods. Moreover, as Duncan Macmillan has shown, the formation of the Scottish School was not solely limited to the formulation of the TA’s artistic theories. In the eighteenth century, TA alumni were also forming independent art classes; Macmillan suggests that one such alumnus, Alexander Nasmyth, was significant as he ‘passed on’ the importance of drawing to his students.³ The Nasmyth legacy is shown in D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson’s calotype of Hill and Thomas Duncan paying homage to the Nasmyth Tomb in Edinburgh (fig 2.1). As this chapter seeks to explore the role of early TA masters in the formulation of approaches to the figure, it thus will also include discussion of other art schools or classes that may have been significant in students’ education.

The eighteenth century marked a significant period of growth of art education. The foundation of the RA in 1768 marked the formalisation of art training in the United Kingdom⁴ and the beginnings of the ‘national’ school.⁵ However, art schools existed in

¹ See for example, Errington, *Scotland’s Pictures*; Hardie, *Scottish Painting: 1837 to the Present*; Duncan Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland: The Golden Age*.

² Lionel Lambourne, *An Introduction to “Victorian” Genre Painting: From Wilkie to Frith* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1982), 5. Lambourne states that the word genre was ‘derived from the French collective noun for people, *les gens*... when added to ‘pictures’ in the phrase ‘*tableaux des genres*’, literally, pictures of people...’

³ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-1990*. Also see Murdo Macdonald, “Wood Notes Wild: A Tale of Claude,” in Alec Finlay (ed.), *Essays in the Poetry and Art of Ian Hamilton Finlay* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1995).

⁴ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art: Past and Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), 185.

London, Dublin, Glasgow, Birmingham and Edinburgh prior to this.⁶ As has been shown in the literature review, the eighteenth-century history of Scottish institutions⁷ has not received the same scholarly attention as its English counterparts. Therefore, this chapter will also seek to explore the heritage for ‘pictures of people’ in Scottish institutions prior to the TA, in order to discover if a philosophy already existed in Scotland in terms of rendering the human form. The early educational philosophies and practices of the TA will then be examined, before exploring the roles of TA masters Alexander Runciman and David Allan in more detail by discussing their legacy in relation to the TA and Scottish art.

The Foundations of the Scottish School: the Academy of St. Luke

The eighteenth century marked a significant period of change in Scottish art. The growth of its art market partly owed to the popularity of the Grand Tour, although it was primarily a result of the Act of Union of 1707.⁸ Scotland’s union with England led to questions about the nature of its ‘national character’ as bound with the country’s visual identity.⁹ This was in accordance with mid-eighteenth-century English beliefs that art represented the ‘national character and civility of a people and the health and prosperity of a society...’¹⁰. Enlightened thought in Scotland, promoted by the Scottish philosophers David Hume and Adam Smith, made it possible to question the nature of identity and the differences between nations due to the belief that ‘individual experience was the cornerstone of judgement.’¹¹ By the middle of the century, the Scottish focus was firmly on the creation of a ‘North British’ character.¹² However, Scotland suffered financially and culturally after

⁵ See Ilaria Bignamini, ‘The ‘Academy of Art’ in Britain before the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768’ in Boschloo et al, *Academies of Art between Renaissance and Romanticism*, 434. The rise of art institutions in the eighteenth century has been discussed more specifically in Hoock, *The King’s Artists* and David H. Solkin (ed.), *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

⁶ Hoock, *The King’s Artists*, 96-98. These schools have been referenced as ‘Schools of Design’ rather than as fully-fledged art academies. The School of Art in Dublin has been discussed most extensively by scholars: for example, see John Turpin, ‘The Royal Dublin Society and Its School of Art, 1849-1877,’ *Dublin Historical Record* 36, no. 1 (December 1982): 2-20; John Turpin, *A School of Art in Dublin since the Eighteenth Century: A History of the National College of Art and Design* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1995); John Turpin, ‘The Education of Irish Artists, 1877-1975,’ *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 13 (1997): 188-193; Isabella Evangelisti, ‘Life Room Revival,’ *Irish Arts Review* (2002): 62-65.

⁷ For example, see Brookes, ‘The Trustees’ Academy, Edinburgh - 1760-1801: The Public Patronage of Art and Design in the Scottish Enlightenment’; George Fairfull-Smith, ‘Art and Design Education in Glasgow in the 18th and 19th Centuries,’ *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History: Art Academies & Spanish Art* (1999); Joanna Soden, ‘Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910.’

⁸ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 91. The Union had been voted for by a majority Whig parliament to ensure Protestant succession in Scotland. Brown and Williams, *The Bigger Picture: A History of Scottish Art*, 55.

⁹ Hoock, *The King’s Artists*, 109.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 5.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 109; Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 91.

¹² Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 19.

the Union, with political power and patronage immediately removed from Edinburgh to London.¹³ Patronage existed in Scotland prior to the Union; ‘domestic decorative painting’ was common, although Macmillan attributes the lack of patronage of Baroque style subject paintings to ideological concerns related to its association with Catholicism.¹⁴ Nevertheless, there were wider benefits in the longer eighteenth century, including the abolition of trade embargos. Scotland’s exports increased gradually, resulting in the rise of wealth in individuals and in the growth of Scottish artistic patronage later in the century.¹⁵ The Select Society was founded in Edinburgh in 1754 and met monthly to discuss methods for the general improvement of Scotland, and to raise funds for the arts, sciences and manufactures. Another committee was formed as an auxiliary to the Select Society, named the Edinburgh Society for Encouraging Arts, Sciences, Manufactures and Agriculture, and it offered premiums and awards.¹⁶

Post-Union, the poet and playwright Allan Ramsay (1686-1758) was conscious of the immediate removal of patronage from the Scottish market. Ramsay was at the heart of the Enlightenment intelligentsia, moving in a circle that combined art, philosophy and literature.¹⁷ In Scotland, Enlightenment philosophies related to the ‘science of art’ and the cultivation of taste provided further cause to institute an art academy.¹⁸ Ramsay founded the Academy of St. Luke in Edinburgh in 1729, together with the portraitist John Alexander, the architect William Allan and other artists. It was proposed as a solution to the problem of patronage and the lack of ‘encouragement’ of the arts, as the indenture specifies

All Noblemen, Gentlemen, Patrons, Painters, and lovers of Painting, who shal contribute to carrying on the Designe, (if they do not incline to draw Themselves) shal have the Privilege by a written Order to our Director, to assign His Right to any Young Artist whom He is Pleased to Patronise (sic).¹⁹

The Academy was named after the Accademia di San Luca in Rome where some of its founder members had studied. From its inception in 1593, the Accademia di San Luca stressed the significance of lectures on the theory of art, drawing after the Antique and

¹³ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 92.

¹⁴ Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland: The Golden Age*, 9.

¹⁵ Gibbon Williams, *The Bigger Picture: A History of Scottish Art*, 56.

¹⁶ Brookes, “The Trustees’ Academy, Edinburgh -- 1760-1801: The Public Patronage of Art and Design in the Scottish Enlightenment”, 24–26.

¹⁷ Gibbon Williams, *The Bigger Picture: A History of Scottish Art*, 29.

¹⁸ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art Past and Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), 149-150.

¹⁹ Brydall, *Art in Scotland: Its Origin and Progress*, 111. The original copy of the indenture is held in the archives of the Royal Scottish Academy.

from life.²⁰ The Academy of St. Luke was not the first to model itself on this Italian prototype. In 1648, The Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris had proposed the beginnings of the first art academy ‘doctrine’²¹; its members were ‘veterans of the Roman art world, artists that had trained in the Accademia di San Luca.’²² The curriculum of the Académie was based on the Accademia di San Luca in theory and practice. It included geometry, perspective, anatomy, history and other relevant subjects, although ‘the life-course was considered the centerpiece of the educational programme.’²³ Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), the first President of the RA, then echoed the doctrine created by the Académie when the RA ‘Rules and Orders’ were drawn up in 1769.

On a much smaller scale, the Academy of St. Luke admitted students for a small fee in order to pay for ‘defraying Charges of Figure and Lights, &ct.’²⁴ Resources for the Academy were drawn from the members’ own collections, primarily drawings after the Old Masters.²⁵ Members of the Academy also loaned casts ‘from the best Antique Statues.’²⁶ In addition to making studies after drawings of Old Master paintings and drawings from the Antique, students had the opportunity to study from the life model. The most senior members placed the figure ‘in what ever Posture He pleases’, although it is unlikely that nude models were used.²⁷ Duncan Macmillan has suggested that, despite its namesake, the Academy of St. Luke may have been aspiring to emulate Godfrey Kneller’s Academy (1711-1720).²⁸ Kneller’s Academy aspired to the idealized treatment of the male nude - the *beau ideal* - considered to be ‘representative of ‘humankind’s greatest and noblest characteristics.’²⁹ Kneller’s surviving life studies, such as *Male nude seated to left* (fig 2.2), show that he positioned the model in the poses from Old Master paintings. These poses were then also applied to his portrait sitters, as the emphasis was on the ‘attitude’

²⁰ Pevsner, *Academies of Art Past and Present*, 60-61.

²¹ Carl Goldstein, *Teaching art: academies and schools from Vasari to Albers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 43.

²² Ibid, 40-41.

²³ Pevsner, *Academies of Art*, 87.

²⁴ Brydall, *Art in Scotland: Its Origin and Progress*, 110.

²⁵ Ibid, 111-113. Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 92. Richard Cooper (and the Academy’s Treasurer) contributed his collection of drawings after the Old Masters. Collections may have been used that belonged to John Alexander and Andrew Hay, and a portfolio was retained in the Academy for the purpose of making copies. The portfolio would have been of great use to the students of the Academy, as prints at this time (from necessity) were a large part of the students’ education. Richard Cooper utilised this folio in the development of his own Winter Academy that opened in 1735.

²⁶ Brydall, *Art in Scotland: Its Origin and Progress*, 110.

²⁷ Irwin and Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900*, 84.

²⁸ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 92.

²⁹ Kneller’s Academy was not the first in England as Peter Lely’s studio (founded c.1673) drew from the life model in c.1673 and 1692. Waller, *The Invention of the Model: Artists and Models in Paris, 1830-1870*, 4.

rather than the anatomical correctness of the model.³⁰ This was also present in the foundation of the RA, which consisted of the Life and the Antique Academies but it showed ‘distaste for a naturalistic depiction of the figure.’³¹ In contrast, the life studies (fig 2.3) of the Scottish portraitist Allan Ramsay Junior, son of the poet, showed a sensitivity to the effects of light and naturalising tendencies in his depictions of the human form.³² Ramsay had also signed the indenture of the Academy of St. Luke in Edinburgh at the age of sixteen, although he followed in the footsteps of Scottish portraitists past by training in Rome (via London).³³ Ramsay’s naturalizing emphasis, at least in part, appears to have owed to the Scottish portrait tradition, particularly the artists John Smibert and William Aikman (fig 2.4).³⁴

The Foulis Academy and the Trustees’ Academy

The history of the Academy of St. Luke was short-lived,³⁵ and the next significant attempt to establish a Scottish academy was by Robert Foulis (and later Andrew Foulis) in 1755.³⁶ Robert toured Paris, and his observations there confirmed his belief in Scotland’s need for a national style of art

We had opportunities of observing the influence of invention in drawing and modelling on many manufactures. And ‘tis obvious that whatever nation has the lead in fashions must previously have invention in drawing diffus’d, otherwise, they can never rise above copying their neighbours. Tho’ we were convinced of this early & wish’d to see the manufactures of our own country enjoying the like advantages...³⁷

³⁰ Bignamini and Postle, *The Artist’s Model: Its Role in British Art from Lely to Etty*, 10-11. Fig 2.2, as Bignamini suggests, is likely posed in imitation of Carracci’s fresco depicting *Perseus and Andromeda* in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome.

³¹ Ibid, 17 and 19. The RA consisted of the ‘Plaister’ Academy and the ‘Academy of Living Models.’ Students were required to draw first from the antique (after being admitted as a ‘Probationer’ and providing anatomical and cast drawings) for a sustained period before being admitted into the Life Academy. The RA first employed four male models in 1769, although one female model was also employed to pose for ‘three nights a week, every other week.’ See the RA ‘Rules and Orders, relating to the School of Design’, 2 January 1769 in Hutchinson, *The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1986*, 29-30.

³² MacDonald, ‘British artists at the Accademia del Nudo in Rome’, 78.

³³ Ibid, 77. Ramsay worked from the life at the Accademia del Nudo in Rome (founded 1754 and associated with the Accademia di San Luca).

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Brydall, *Art in Scotland: Its Origin and Progress*, 113; Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 93.

³⁶ Working as a bookseller, Foulis established his own press in 1742 and was the printer for the University of Glasgow by 1743. Robert’s brother Andrew Foulis became a partner in the business c.1746-7. The press produced reputable works of classical and literary origins intended for scholars. The success of the Press allowed the brothers to found the Foulis Academy with some financial backing from three Scottish businessmen: John Glassford of Dougalston and his brothers-in-law, Archibald Ingram and John Coats of Clathic. Fairfull-Smith, *The Foulis Press and the Foulis Academy: Glasgow’s Eighteenth-Century School of Art and Design*, 7-11. See Brydall, *Art in Scotland*, 123-124.

³⁷ From a transcript that may have been made by Bishop Thomas Percy as part of a letter from Robert Foulis to an unknown correspondent. Original in the John Johnson Collection, Clarendon Press, Oxford. Robert Foulis and John Jamieson, “Robert and Andrew Foulis” (Glasgow: The College Press, 1966), University of Glasgow Department of Special Collections.

In Glasgow, the Foulis Academy was founded with the ambition to work ‘upon the same plan with the foreign Academies.’³⁸ This general ‘encouragement’ of the arts and of cultural patriotism was cultivated in the 1750s not only in Britain but also across Europe, with art academies being instituted in Copenhagen (the Royal Danish Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture in 1754) and in Russia (the Russian Imperial Academy founded in 1757).³⁹ During his time in Paris and in the Low Countries, Robert collected Old Master paintings of the Venetian School, the Netherlands and the German Renaissance, as was the British practice.⁴⁰ Paintings from the Continent were widely collected due to the lack of a ‘national school’; British artists were not believed to have the technical abilities necessary for history paintings or public sculpture⁴¹ due to the lack of adequate training institutions in Britain. This meant that artists specialized in portraiture and landscape, and were deemed unqualified to create a distinctive national school.⁴²

David Allan, the future TA-master, indicated the serious and ambitious nature of the Foulis Academy in an engraving made while he was a student there (fig 2.5), most likely based on his painting of the Academy (fig 2.6). It shows students drawing from the antique, painting from the life model and making copies from the Foulis brothers’ collection of paintings, skied on the Academy’s walls. As in Continental academies, the life model was initially conceived as central to the Foulis Academy, employed for ‘two hours every evening.’⁴³ Moreover, the masters of the Foulis Academy were all from the Continent.⁴⁴ As the Foulis Academy aspired to Continental examples, the engraving presents its environment as learned and cultured. This is indicated by the folio drawings, books and the cast of a foot (often acquired during the Grand Tour) at the forefront of Allan’s engraving (fig 2.5). In England, Reynolds would also seek to present RA members as gentlemen and ‘arbiters of taste.’⁴⁵

³⁸ David Murray, *Robert & Andrew Foulis and The Glasgow Press with some account of The Glasgow Academy of the Fine Arts* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913), 66-67.

³⁹ Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810*, 47.

⁴⁰ Irwin and Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900*, 85.

⁴¹ Hock, *The King’s Artists*, 5.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ See the *Glasgow Journal*, 30 August 1755 and a letter from R. Foulis, January 1763 cited in Fairfull-Smith, *The Foulis Press and the Foulis Academy: Glasgow’s Eighteenth-Century School of Art and Design*, 26. This had changed by 1763 when students worked from the life model for three evenings each week.

⁴⁴ Brydall, *Art in Scotland: Its Origin and Progress*, 124. The masters who taught at the Academy all came from the Continent, including an engraver, Francois Aveline, the artists Payen and Medici, a copperplate printer named Dubois and one or two plaster modellers, Torri and/or Torrie.

⁴⁵ Hock, *The King’s Artists*, 6.

It is possible that, given the range of activities depicted in the engraving, it was intended for subscribers or was made available for purchase. It therefore worked as a promotional tool for the Academy, advertising the opportunities available for artists.⁴⁶ Allan also depicted *The Foulis Art Exhibition* (fig 2.7) held at the University of Glasgow; this marked the Academy's exhibition of copies made after Old Masters paintings.⁴⁷ The Foulis Academy exhibition was necessary in order to promote the activities of the school in terms of remuneration, but it may also have been aspiring to the exhibitions that were associated with the second St. Martin's Lane Academy (1735-68) in London, then under the direction of William Hogarth (1697-1764). Artists from St. Martin's Lane Academy staged exhibitions in Vauxhall Gardens, decorating the 'garden pavilions and supper boxes' with paintings.⁴⁸ Allan's engraving is significant not only in illustrating the public exhibition of artworks by Scottish art students, but it also indicates the power of Allan's observational eye. More important, it anticipates Allan's preoccupation with subjects from contemporary life.

The Foulis brothers also firmly believed, however, that students should travel to Italy in order to complete their education. Scots artists had a tradition of studying in Italy, with the numbers of British artists swelling in the 1760s and 1770s. They accounted for the second largest group of nationals (after the Italians) studying at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, or training under the Scots artist Gavin Hamilton (fig 2.8).⁴⁹ It is evident that the support and patronage of the Scottish gentry and upper classes was necessary in furthering students' education abroad. The development of subjects and 'sophistication' of Scottish painting of the later eighteenth century was directly related to artists' training in Italy.⁵⁰ It is no coincidence that David Allan and Alexander Runciman, both masters of the TA in the eighteenth century, trained with Gavin Hamilton during their time in Rome. In the meanwhile, the death of both Andrew Foulis and then of one its major patrons had led to the closure of the Foulis Academy in 1775. Students of fine art were left with the choice of attending the TA or private drawing classes in Scotland, as an institutionalised life class was not made available until 1811 through The Incorporated Society of Artists (founded

⁴⁶ T. Crouther Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa 1744-1796: The Scottish Hogarth* (Alva: Robert Cunningham & Sons, 1951). For a listing of objects made by the students for sale to raise funds, see Foulis Academy, *A Catalogue of Pictures, Drawings, Prints, Statues and Busts in Plaister of Paris, Done at the Academy in the University of Glasgow: In This Catalogue Is Inserted a Collection of Prints, the Plates of Which Are the Property of R. and A. Foulis. Published for the Use of Subscribers* (Glasgow: R. & A. Foulis, 1758).

⁴⁷ Brydall, *Art in Scotland: Its Origin and Progress*, 126.

⁴⁸ Hooock, *The King's Artists*, 7.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 96-97. MacDonald attributes the influx of British artists to the Accademia del Nudo to the closure of the British Academy. See MacDonald, 'British artists at the Accademia del Nudo in Rome', 84.

⁵⁰ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 93.

1808).⁵¹ In Glasgow, Anderson's University⁵² offered classes from 1829 until 1855 in painting and anatomical drawing under the artist John Alexander Gilfillan⁵³, and possibly a life class for at least some of this time.⁵⁴ Alternatively students could seek further artistic education in London or on the Continent.

Post-Union, the British government issued Scotland with money to improve manufactures and fisheries. This included £2000 per year for seven years from 1707 for the encouragement of coarse wool production; by 1718 a further £2000 was granted for manufactures and fisheries and, in 1724, surplus funds from the Malt Tax Act, of over £20,000 per year, were given to Scotland.⁵⁵ These funds were managed and distributed by the Board of Manufactures, legislated in 1726, with the Charter being granted by George II in 1727 and members being appointed by the Royal Commission.⁵⁶ The funds received by the Board of Manufactures to further design for manufactures in Scotland were largely phased out in the early nineteenth century, with regulation of the linen industry being abolished in 1823.

From its inception the Board was comprised of twenty-one members, and by 1908 the number had been increased to twenty-eight.⁵⁷ Many members of the Board were also part of the Edinburgh Society, including Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782), with the members forming a prominent role in Scottish society through status and class. George Thomson (1757–1851) acted as Clerk to the Board of Manufactures from 1780 and, Macmillan has suggested, was influential in his love of Scots poetry and music and the

⁵¹ Grier Gordon, 'The Foulis Academy, 1753-1776', *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, 5. Membership was limited and the institution short-lived as it was dissolved in 1813.

⁵² John Anderson, *Extracts from the latter will and codicil of Professor John Anderson* (Glasgow: W. Reid & Co, 1796), 3-4. Anderson's University is now the present University of Strathclyde. Professor John Anderson (1726-1796) founded Anderson's Institution to cater to Glasgow's growing industries with an emphasis on a scientific and mechanical curriculum.

⁵³ 22 March 1831 and 11 June 1834, *Anderson's Institution Minute Book 1830-1864*, University of Strathclyde Archives, OB/1/1/4, 9 and 70.

⁵⁴ Hugh Ferguson has suggested that 'Gilfillan... taught very large classes, indicating that amateurs were catered for, although aspiring professionals may also have used the classes for access to a model for life drawing.' Hugh Ferguson, *Glasgow School of Art: The History* (Glasgow: The Foulis Press, 1995), 15. Ferguson incorrectly cites the Master of this period as 'Thomas' Gilfillan. See also Charles G. Wood, *John Alexander Gilfillan 1793-1864* (Glasgow: The University of Strathclyde). Classes were also offered in pathological drawing and architectural and mechanical drawing.

⁵⁵ Brookes, 'The Trustees' Academy, Edinburgh -- 1760-1801: The Public Patronage of Art and Design in the Scottish Enlightenment', 28-30. As Brookes has shown, the Board reported to the Crown each year until 1894 and thereafter the Secretary for Scotland. The Board of Manufactures began with £30,000 and a further £20,000 from Malt Tax surplus was given to the Board until 1791. Further payments were made, including £2000 per year directly for the Board, £3000 for the promotion of linen manufacture in the Highlands (1753-1762) and further monies were provided from flax and hemp funds (c. 1770-1787).

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

links with visual art.⁵⁸ Members of the Board of Manufactures included George Drummond, accountant-general of excise in Scotland (1687–1766), the politician, Archibald Campbell, third Duke of Argyll (1682–1761), the politician and judge, Duncan Forbes (1685–1747), the judge, Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton (1691/2–1766), Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 2nd Baronet (1676–1755), succeeded by his son, Sir George Clerk-Maxwell, 4th Baronet (1715–1784), a secretary of the Board, the merchant Robert Arbuthnot of Haddo (1728–1803), again succeeded by his son, Sir William Arbuthnot, 1st Baronet of Edinburgh (1766–1829) in the same role.⁵⁹ One member of the Board was appointed as its secretary, and one member also acted as the chair for each meeting.⁶⁰

The TA was created after the Edinburgh Society realised that the quality of drawing for manufactures in contest for premiums was poor. The Board of Manufactures thus founded the TA in 1760 as part of its ongoing responsibility to improve manufactures in Scotland. It provided education to men and women, and it was financed by the Crown through the surplus or designated revenue funds.⁶¹ In its early history, the students of the TA were mostly ‘craftsmen-painters’, such as coachpainters, engravers and housepainters. The early curriculum emphasized decorative painting and crafts; both Raeburn and Nasmyth began as apprentices.⁶² However, it also marked the professionalization of painters with more serious aspirations, which was evident in the ambitions of the painter-decorator James Norie (fig 2.9) in the first half of the eighteenth century.⁶³ This was the transition from the profession of ‘craft’ to ‘painter’ in eighteenth-century Scottish art.⁶⁴ Similarly, the RA, founded eight years after the TA, had also reflected this trend; its early admissions included drapery and coachpainters as well as leading artists, sculptors and architects of the period.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland: The Golden Age*, 70.

⁵⁹ Throughout its long history, the Board of Manufactures had many other prominent members, including the judge and politician, Sir James William Montgomery, 1st Baronet (1721–1803), the lawyer and politician, Alexander Maconochie, Lord Meadowbank (1777–1861), the author, friend of Walter Scott and Board secretary, James Skene (1775–1864), Francis Napier, 8th Lord Napier of Merchistoun, (1758–1823), lawyer and politician, Charles Baillie, Lord Jerviswoode (1804–1879), the judge, John Inglis, Lord Glencorse (1810–1891), the newspaper proprietor, John Ritchie Findlay (1824–1898), and by the mid-nineteenth century, artists were also members of the Board, including D.O. Hill.

⁶⁰ It has been difficult to ascertain how long members were expected to sit on the Board, although some members served until their death.

⁶¹ Any other student that wished to attend the TA beyond those that had already been registered was to be charged one guinea per quarter.

⁶² James Greig, *Sir Henry Raeburn* (London: The Connoisseur, 1911), xiv.

⁶³ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 85 and 91. Irwin and Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900*, 91.

⁶⁴ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 84-85.

⁶⁵ Hoock, *The King's Artists*, 31. Hoock discusses Peter Thoms and John Baker in particular.

The first two masters appointed to the TA were Frenchmen, William Delacour (c.1700–1767) and Charles Pavillon (1726–1772) respectively. Both men were trained in the decorative arts; Delacour had published a set of eight pattern books,⁶⁶ and Pavillon had decorated panels for Danson House in London.⁶⁷ Pavillon instructed students towards drawing ornaments and creating patterns, although he ensured that students would be able to competently draw ‘architecture, the human figure, and animals.’⁶⁸ In its early history, approximately twenty students were taught over three days from three in the afternoon until seven in the evening, although twenty-eight students were recorded as being enrolled under Pavillon.⁶⁹ In line with the TA’s founding principles, students were taught to draw from patterns for linen and woolen manufactures with premiums to be awarded for the best designs. As noted by Brookes, little information exists in the *Minute Books of the Board of Manufactures* as to the TA’s curriculum in the late eighteenth century, although under Runciman and Allan, classicism formed the foundation of art education. Allan in particular was mindful that the TA was for students desirous of learning ornamental design; he wrote to the Board to ask for stricter regulation of students, given the large numbers of house painters and engravers then applying for admission.⁷⁰ However, existing drawings by Allan’s student, the engraver Robert Scott (1777–1841), father of David Scott, show that sketches were made from male and female classical nudes, whereas the drawings awarded premiums in 1788 were of a thistle, the ‘centre of a tablecloth’, two for bunches of grapes, a pineapple and the branch of a thistle.⁷¹ TA masters were also required to submit two of their own original patterns at the end of every year, which were intended for the use of manufacturers.⁷²

By 1797, the Board was in favour of employing John Graham to attend to the education of women in drawing classes, and also to provide classes to specifically support the fine arts. A separate Academy was then created, with another drawing master running the classes for drawing for design.⁷³ The two Academies were combined under Graham in 1800; the

⁶⁶ Brookes, “The Trustees’ Academy, Edinburgh -- 1760-1801: The Public Patronage of Art and Design in the Scottish Enlightenment”, 33.

⁶⁷ See Richard Lea, Chris Miele, with Gordon Higgott, *Danson House: The anatomy of a Georgian villa* (London: English Heritage, 2011).

⁶⁸ Brookes, “The Trustees’ Academy, Edinburgh –1760-1801: The Public Patronage of Art and Design in the Scottish Enlightenment”, 63.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 45, 67 and 132. As Brookes notes, there is no existing student register for Delacour’s tenure, although under David Allan’s tenure, the TA allowed up to twenty students to enroll with classes taking place on Monday, Wednesday and Thursday from 4pm–6pm. The term ran from Jan–mid-August and November–mid-December.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 135.

⁷¹ Ibid, 138–140.

⁷² 6 February 1786, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/25 (NAS), 126 in *ibid*, 143.

⁷³ Ibid, 193–196.

curriculum still allowed for drawing for manufactures, including sketching ornaments and learning about geometry, although the focus was more firmly on the fine arts with the introduction of casts, oil painting and historical composition.⁷⁴ Students did not, however, have official access to an institutional life class until 1829 through the Royal Institution of the Fine Arts (hereafter the RI). The portraitist Henry Raeburn's class (from 1781) employed a life model, although it was dependent on the TA for access to casts. As acknowledged, Alexander Nasmyth, the former student of Runciman, also had his own private studio from 1799 and taught classes there during the Napoleonic Wars, although these classes were not created with the purpose of working from the model.⁷⁵

Gavin Hamilton, Runciman and *Ossian*

Runciman began his career as an apprentice to the Norie firm as a decorative painter.⁷⁶ With his artist brother John Runciman (1744-1768/9), both men were commissioned to paint the home of Sir James Clerk of Penicuik, and it has been suggested that Clerk later recommended Runciman for the role of master of the TA, which he commenced in 1772.⁷⁷ Partly funded by the advance for the Penicuik House project, Runciman left for Rome in 1767 where he was 'determined to master the art of large-scale figure compositions.'⁷⁸ Alexander, with his brother John, met Gavin Hamilton in Rome. Hamilton played an important role as a dealer of Old Master paintings and antique sculptures.⁷⁹ However, he was also then the most successful British history painter. One of the founding members of the RA, the artist Mary Moser, described Hamilton's *The Anger of Achilles at the Loss of Briseis* (fig 2.10) as 'much admired', with Briseis representative of 'a l'antique [sic],

⁷⁴ Ibid, 196–207.

⁷⁵ See J.C.B. Cooksey, *Alexander Nasmyth H.R.S.A 1758-1840: A Man of the Scottish Renaissance* (Whittingehame: Whittingehame House Publishing, 1991), 58. Also see Multiple Advertisements and Notices, *Caledonian Mercury*, 5 October 1807, issue 15350, no page number listed, where a notice for Nasmyth's winter session of Drawing and Painting classes is advertised. Other classes were held in Glasgow and Edinburgh, including one by Mr Gallaway. See anon., 'Drawing Academy Notice', *The Glasgow Courier*, Tuesday 26th February 1793, Vol. II, no. 234, 3. James Denholm also held drawing classes. See anon., 'Notices', *The Glasgow Courier*, 30 December 1794, Vol. IV, no. 522, 3 and anon., 'Notices', *The Glasgow Courier*, 25 June 1795, Vol. IV, no. 598, 3. The number of private art classes in late eighteenth-century Scotland are too numerous to mention, and George-Fairfull Smith or Joanna Soden have made more exhaustive lists: Fairfull-Smith, 'Art and Design Education in Glasgow in the 18th and 19th Centuries', *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, 10 and Soden, 'Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910.'

⁷⁶ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 118. Brydall also speculates that Runciman may have attended the Foulis Academy and the Trustees' Academy. Brydall, *Art in Scotland: Its Origin and Progress*, 162.

⁷⁷ Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810*, 159. George Maxwell-Clerk was a trustee of the TA and the brother of James Clerk.

⁷⁸ Irwin and Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900*, 106.

⁷⁹ Julia Lloyd Williams, *Gavin Hamilton 1723-1798* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1994), 13.

elegant and simple.’⁸⁰ More recently, Martin Myrone has written about Hamilton’s *Iliad* cycle of paintings in reference to the complexities of the heroic male in the eighteenth century. The heroism of the *Iliad* could be symbolic of self-identification for the Hanoverian gentleman; education and class were required to follow its narration. However, its brutal, physical manifestations of masculinity were at odds with the changing social and cultural landscape – the culture of sensibility – which valued refinement.⁸¹ Hamilton emphasized the emotional language of the *Iliad* narrative, as shown in *Achilles Lamenting the Death of Patroclus* (fig 2.11)

...Hamilton has isolated from the web of violent activity reflective moments of pure feeling... in which the participants have time to experience their suffering and even linger in their pain.⁸²

His focus on the Greek poetic tradition⁸³ (not Roman, as was typical at this period) and his emphasis on the emotional impact of the paintings, as typically ‘feminised modes of reading’,⁸⁴ created an opportunity for Runciman to explore a new kind of history painting. He made his intentions clear in a letter to his benefactor

The Objections you make to my following History Painting seem very just and true for there is not wanting there many malancholy [sic] instances of your Observation with respect to wasting many years on what is called Study... For my own part ever since I came to Rome I took matters in a different light and think that after a few years proper study.... A man might so qualify himself as to imerge [sic] with some degree of credit.⁸⁵

He also expressed his admiration for Hamilton in the same letter when he stated that ‘Mr Hamilton in particular is only in consequence of his being our first character here. As to any other persons here at present I don’t think of them.’⁸⁶

On his return to Scotland, Runciman envisioned a mural scheme for Clerk’s home in Penicuik that would emulate Hamilton’s *Iliad* themes and his ‘new’ neoclassical style (2.12).⁸⁷ However, his eventual design was a product of the Scottish Enlightenment. It

⁸⁰ David H. Weinglass (ed.), *The Collected English Letters of Henry Fuseli* (New York: Kraus International, 1982), 11 and 13. The German painter Henry Fuseli later became associated with Runciman in Rome, and described him as ‘the best *Painter* of us.’

⁸¹ Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810*, 52-58. Myrone’s discussion is deeply layered and takes into account other symbolic meanings for the heroic male within the context of Hamilton’s paintings, including the eroticised gaze with reference to the savagery of heroism.

⁸² Lindsay Errington, “Gavin Hamilton’s Sentimental *Iliad*,” *The Burlington Magazine* 120, no. 898 (January 1978), 13.

⁸³ Williams, *Gavin Hamilton 1723-1798*, 7.

⁸⁴ Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810*, 62.

⁸⁵ Letter from Runciman to Clerk, dated 16 May 1770 and cited in J. Duncan Macmillan, “Alexander Runciman in Rome,” *The Burlington Magazine* 112, no. 802 (January 1970), 24.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810*, 148. Penicuik House was destroyed by a fire in 1899.

significantly continued the Scottish artists' tradition of the poetic subject. Runciman's murals for Penicuik House were based on the poetry of the Celtic bard, Ossian. James Macpherson claimed to have translated the poems of Ossian from the Gaelic, which were then published from 1760–1763. Despite controversy regarding the origins of the text, the poems were translated into a number of European languages and had huge international significance.⁸⁸ During the second half of the eighteenth century, the poems became influential in Romanticism, inspiring literary and artistic output across Europe and acted as a vehicle to express national identity in individual nations across the Low Countries. The texts were also influential in Scotland, where it seemed that 'the voice of the ancient Caledonians' had survived in Ossian's poetry.⁸⁹ As Duncan Macmillan has stated, like Homer's *Iliad*, Ossian's poetry offered a vision of the 'natural' representation of Scotland's indigenous people and it provided Runciman with an 'epic' to fulfill his ambition of becoming a history painter.⁹⁰

Runciman's use of Ossian's poetry was significant in that it was the first time that Ossian had been used as a subject in Scottish art (2.13). As Myrone has shown, the Ossian scheme was a source of Scottish nationalistic identity and validity.⁹¹ It is clear that Runciman was trying to create a type of painting that was rooted in Scottish history; he also painted St. Margaret of Scotland on the wall of an adjoining staircase in Penicuik House. He was also acutely aware of post-Union Scottish stereotypes, and his selection of the Gaelic bard's poems may have been viewed as contentious. His nationalist stance – in an increasingly pro-union-nationalist Scotland – was confirmed by his membership of the Cape Club, originally founded in support of a Scottish militia.⁹² Runciman's subversive artistic status was also related to his professional social class, at odds with the gentrified and upper class members of the Board of Manufactures.⁹³ In terms of his role as master of the TA, Runciman in turn promoted the fine arts over designs for manufactures. This led to difficulties between the artist and the Board of Manufactures. Certainly by the time of Runciman's tenure, the TA was using selected casts after the antique for students to copy. It was indicated that the variety of casts available was limited; in an often-told anecdote,

⁸⁸ Ossian's poems were translated into German in 1768–69, into French by 1777, into Danish by 1790 and into Swedish by 1794–1800. The poems were also translated into Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Russian, Czech, Polish and Hungarian.

⁸⁹ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 122.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810*, 154-156.

⁹² Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 122. His membership of the Cape Club directly mocked the Board of Manufactures, its organizational structure parodied by the Cape Club's reference to 'A Complete List of his Majesty's Commissioners for Encouraging the Arts & Sciences of CFD.' Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810*, 152.

⁹³ Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810*, 152-156.

Nasmyth complained that he had drawn from a miniature cast of the *Laocoön* six times. Runciman apparently responded by turning the cast upside down.⁹⁴ The Board of Manufactures believed Runciman to be ‘indolent and inattentive’, and he was reprimanded in 1784 and 1785 for the bad management of his duties as he was prioritizing fine art values over training students for manufactures.⁹⁵

Runciman’s Ossian mural scheme is important nonetheless within the tradition of Scottish art for its depiction of neoclassical semi-nude heroic figures, painted on a large scale (fig 2.14). They have been discussed in terms of their ‘charged physicality’, representative of emotion and raw power, and showing the influence of Romanticism.⁹⁶ However, Runciman here set an important precedent in Scottish art; later his ‘genius’ was celebrated by the RSA, which commemorated the artist and his brother in the form of medallion heads.⁹⁷

David Allan, Genre Painting and naturalism

Runciman’s successor, David Allan, was also to have a lasting effect on Scottish art. As we have seen, Allan had advantageous beginnings due to his time spent at the Foulis Academy. He was one of the Foulis’ students that travelled to Rome with help from supporters of the Academy. He arrived in 1764, and like Runciman, he studied under Hamilton.⁹⁸ In Rome, Allan painted *Hector’s Farewell to Andromache* (fig 2.15), which stylistically and thematically owed to Hamilton’s version (fig 2.16).⁹⁹ Moreover, both Runciman and Allan painted versions of *The Origin of Painting* (figs. 2.17 and 2.18). This supports Macmillan’s argument that the artists were preoccupied with the ‘primitive’ beginnings of art, via Hamilton, in order to find a method to express Scottish identity.¹⁰⁰

Allan returned from Italy in 1777 and settled in London. Despite initially gaining commissions in portraiture and conversation pieces, Allan realised that history painting would not provide him with a regular income due to the infancy of the British art market.

It is deplorable to think that Great Britain in general has not sooner begun to encourage her young ones in the study of History, the noblest part of painting... I am glad at least

⁹⁴ Irwin and Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900*, 92.

⁹⁵ Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810*, 341.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 157.

⁹⁷ See anon., ‘Royal Scottish Academy’, *The Art Journal*, February 1867, 38.

⁹⁸ Anon., ‘Biographical Account of David Allan’, *Library of the fine arts, or repertory of painting, sculpture, architecture, or engraving*, August 1832, 4:19, 77-78. The article states that Allan was in Rome for ‘sixteen weeks’ although this was inaccurate.

⁹⁹ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 126; Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810*, 67. It is possible that Hamilton, as President of the Accademia di San Luca during this time, set the subject matter.

¹⁰⁰ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 120-121.

that they have got into the notion their familys done in familiar case in Groups, by which painters may get great improvemen in this study of Nature &... (sic).¹⁰¹ His discussion of the 'study of Nature' refers to his exploration of scenes of contemporary life or genre. Allan had shown that he was adept in rendering the gestures and subjects that formed the basis of genre, as explored in his Foulis Academy engravings (fig 2.7). It is likely that Allan was mindful of the potential opportunities that could arise from engravings, particularly given that Hamilton had arranged for his *Iliad* cycle to be engraved, with each priced individually for the market.¹⁰² Allan exhibited a series of sketches at the RA in 1778 that observed the activities of the Roman Carnival (fig 2.19). Allan wrote

I did at Rome a set of Drawings in Bister representing the amusements of the Carnival at Rome in 8 Drawings, which [Paul] Sandby bought from me for London and he has executed them charmingly in aquatinta prints at a guinea the sett (sic). They take well and he will make money of them. If I have health and time *I intend to do groups of the manners in Scotland, which would be new and entertaining and good for engraving*. I have painted at Athole (sic) for myself a Highland Dance as a companion to the Neapolitan, but the Highland is the most picturesque and curious. I have made a drawing of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland with many portraits, would make a good print [my emphasis]...¹⁰³.

Macmillan has suggested that his Roman Carnival drawings may be attributed to the influence of Pietro Fabris, a Neapolitan genre painter,¹⁰⁴ although Crouther Gordon has also made the comparison between Allan and his predecessor, William Hogarth (fig 2.20).¹⁰⁵ Certainly Hogarth and Allan are linked by the use of text and image. Hogarth's engravings can be read as 'texts' on one level, from the visual inclusion of documents and books and the captions and commentaries printed in the margin of his prints, which triggers the 'reading' of the narrative.¹⁰⁶ Allan's work may not function in the same satiric vein as Hogarth, although there are parallels in the artists' methods of observation. Hogarth was primarily concerned with urban representations; he strolled the streets of London in search of subjects.¹⁰⁷ Although Allan also worked from life, his version of naturalism was rooted in Scottish folk traditions and pastoralism. He illustrated Ramsay Senior's pastoral

¹⁰¹ Letter from Allan to Lord Buchan, 3 December 1780, Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa 1744-1796: The Scottish Hogarth*, 34. Allan made it clear that he relied upon and nurtured his friendships with his patrons in order to gain more commissions as 'joining friends together on the canvace, & at the price of ten guineas the figure as a general price...'

¹⁰² Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810*, 66.

¹⁰³ Letter from Allan to Sir William Hamilton, 6 November 1780, cited in Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa 1744-1796: The Scottish Hogarth*, 31-32.

¹⁰⁴ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 127.

¹⁰⁵ Dr T. Crouther Gordon, 'Burns and David Allan: The "Scottish Hogarth's" work', *The Scotsman*, 25 January 1947, 7.

¹⁰⁶ David Bindman, Frédéric Ogée, and Peter Wagner (eds), *Hogarth: Representing Nature's Machines* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), 6-9.

¹⁰⁷ Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth Volume 1: The "Modern Moral Subject" 1697-1732* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1991), 44.

The Gentle Shepherd (fig 2.21), renewing the Scottish links with Scottish poetry that had been established with Runciman. Indeed, he dedicated *The Gentle Shepherd* illustrations to Hamilton. Also in his dedication, he stated that ‘there can be no better models than what Nature in this country daily presents to our view.’¹⁰⁸ Ramsay had written *The Gentle Shepherd* in the area of the Pentland Hills, and Allan made a point of stating that he had travelled to the same place to study ‘the same characters... I have endeavoured to preserve the costume as nearly as possible...’.¹⁰⁹ Allan’s interest in replicating what Ramsay had seen in the Pentland Hills as truthfully as possible is a continuation of the exploration of the ‘primitive’ themes, of that ‘authenticity’ of the ‘natural way of life of unspoiled country people.’¹¹⁰ Allan also did illustrations for Ossian, the life of William Wallace and the songs of Robert Burns, and his prints increased his popularity through their widespread circulation. The Board of Manufactures had subscribed for twenty copies for its own collection.¹¹¹ Although not on the scale of history painting, Allan was cultivating an identity for Scottish art that was rooted in Scottish history and Scottish pastoralism. There is evidence to suggest that Allan had planned to paint Scottish history subjects, as he was particularly interested in the life of Mary Queen of Scots.¹¹² However, as Hamilton’s student, Allan also stressed the importance of the antique, stating that ‘the nature we have, with the assistance of ancient models, which may easily be procured by casts from the best of the Greek statues and busts, is fully sufficient for all purposes of study...’.¹¹³ It is clear that Graham would have stressed to his students the significance of classicism tempered by naturalism, despite the limitations of the TA’s earlier curriculum.

Allan’s influence was evident in the crop of genre painters that emerged from the TA in the early nineteenth century; it is perhaps most fully realised in the work of Alexander Carse¹¹⁴ (fig 2.22) and Wilkie, although other notable exponents of Scottish history and genre included William Lizars, Alexander Fraser and Walter Geikie. These artists revisited

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 46.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 131. Morrison alludes to a similar preoccupation with a ‘practice uncontaminated by modernity’ with reference to John Duncan Fergusson’s preoccupation with dance as a theme, which he suggests may have had its roots in Allan’s depiction of *A Highland Wedding at Blair Atholl*, 1780, oil on canvas, 115cm x 166cm, Scottish National Galleries, Edinburgh. Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 216.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 47.

¹¹² Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa 1744-1796: The Scottish Hogarth*, 50. Allan wrote to Lord Buchan regarding his antiquarian leanings in his desire to depict the costume of the Stuarts with accuracy and discussing his interest in the history of the Erskines and the Stuarts. Letter from Allan to Buchan, 8 September 1789.

¹¹³ Ibid, 46.

¹¹⁴ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 179. Macmillan states that Carse ‘seems to have been’ a student of Allan’s.

Allan's Scottish subjects; Wilkie illustrated a scene from *The Gentle Shepherd*¹¹⁵ and Carse and Lizars both painted the Scottish 'picturesque' and focused on 'national manners.'¹¹⁶

Wilkie succinctly discussed the origins of the Scottish School in 1827 when he stated

On her [Scotland's] throne an inspired poet has sat, and an inspired poet has come from her plough – her fancy is seen in the effusions of Ossian... She has converted the mountain glen and green bank into a new Arcadia, resounding with poetry and music – has realised pastoral life in the strains of Allan Ramsay, and has shewn the power of thoughts alike in the heartfelt song of Robert Burns, the heart-touching tale of Henry MacKenzie, as in the metaphysical speculations of David Hume and Dugald Stewart.¹¹⁷

Although contemporary reviews of Scottish genre paintings acknowledged that nature was the artists' 'great field of study',¹¹⁸ it is clear that a tendency towards naturalism was present in the paintings of portraitists of the early eighteenth century. Following Macmillan's lead, we may also see that Scottish Enlightenment philosophies and literature helped to define and develop artists' understanding of Scottish identity. The poems of Ossian, Ramsay and Burns focused on ideas of early or 'natural' civilisations, and this emerged in 'Celtic' and 'pastoral' forms. These developments begin to reveal that the evolution of the Scottish School in the late eighteenth century was characterised by an emphasis on Scottish identity, with two TA masters, Runciman and Allan, engaging with romantic themes that explored this 'natural' way of life. Allan in particular began to stylistically and thematically experiment with naturalism in the form of genre subjects, although it is likely that, in part, the art market also prompted this interest, as well as the influence of Gavin Hamilton. Further discussion of the development of Scottish genre would enhance understanding of its place in early nineteenth-century art. For example, how do we define genre in the nineteenth century, and how does this compare with English genre painting of the same period?¹¹⁹ Further in-depth consideration is also needed in relation to issues of social class, definitions of naturalism and its relation to physical 'type.'

This chapter has also confirmed that the TA's curriculum was limited in the eighteenth century, yet the roles of Runciman and Allan have been highlighted as essential to the development of the Scottish School. It is clear that both artists promoted 'pictures of

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 116.

¹¹⁶ Hoock, *The King's Artists*, 101.

¹¹⁷ Address by Wilkie in Rome in anon, "Dinner to David Wilkie, Esq, R.A. and Limner to His Majesty for Scotland", *Caledonian Mercury*, 1 March 1827, issue 16463, no page number listed.

¹¹⁸ Anon, "Sir David Wilkie," *The Art-Union*, July 1841, 115.

¹¹⁹ Hoock, *The King's Artists*, 76-77.

people', but that Edinburgh's classical growth in the nineteenth-century conflicted with naturalist painting styles. The next chapter will examine to extent to which naturalism manifested itself and continued to develop in the pedagogical and institutional methods of the TA in the early nineteenth century.

Chapter 3: Naturalism, Classicism and the TA c.1800-1830

Mr Wilkie, whose celebrated painting of “Village Politicians,” lately exhibited in the Royal Academy, excited such general attention and admiration, as to entitle him to the appellation of the ‘Modern Teniers.’¹

The national success of David Wilkie’s *Village Politicians*, exhibited at the RA in 1806 (fig 3.0), confirmed the return of the ‘pursuit of natural truth’ in painting.² In England the movement towards a more natural representation with regard to the human form had been evident from the 1790s, shown in the life studies of the artist James Barry and Henry Fuseli (fig 3.1), and followed by William Etty and Benjamin Robert Haydon.³ As Martin Postle has noted, this change was in direct contrast to preceding philosophies in England about how to draw from the model, encouraged by Reynolds in the RA as the representation of artistic ideals rather than of direct observation.⁴ As we have seen in Chapter 2, however, Scotland’s engagement with naturalism, of which genre painting was a direct product, was also related to Scottish Enlightenment ideas expressed in philosophy and poetry. This was visually communicated through the exploration of romanticised, idealised cultures, in terms of Celtic and Scottish mythologies, poems and culture.⁵ Duncan Forbes has shown that early nineteenth-century Scottish genre painting has complexities in terms of its contemporaneous and more recent cultural status, related to the gentrified patronage of genre painting and its visual identification with the lower social classes.⁶ With regard to the problematic nature of defining genre, Forbes conceded that David Allan, in his illustrations to *The Gentle Shepherd*, still made it clear that nature should have a ‘pedagogic function’ in Scottish art.⁷

This pedagogic call for ‘naturalism’ in art by Allan was followed by a period in Edinburgh’s architectural history that identified with classicism. During the 1750s, a proposal provided the impetus for the building of Edinburgh’s New Town, carried out over

¹ Anon., “Interesting Particulars of Mr Wilkie, the Artist in the Modern Plutarch,” *The Times*, September 29, 1806, issue 6853, 2.

² Solkin (ed.), *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836*, 161.

³ Bignamini and Postle, *The Artist’s Model: Its Role in British Art from Lely to Etty*, 20-21.

⁴ Ibid, 17-18.

⁵ With special reference to art historical texts, see for example Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*; Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 141.

⁶ Duncan Forbes, ““Dodging and Watching the Natural Incidents of the Peasantry’: Genre Painting in Scotland 1780-1830.”

⁷ Ibid, 85.

the following eighty years (fig 3.2).⁸ Classical architecture was the dominant style under the architect Robert Adam (1728-1792), appointed as joint architect to the Crown in 1761.⁹ More specifically, the revival of public building was initiated at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the Royal Institution building, at the north end of the Mound, was designed to house the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Society of Scottish Antiquaries and the Board of Manufactures (and later the Royal Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts).¹⁰ Built by William Playfair (1759-1823), the building was executed in the 'pure classical taste'.¹¹ In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Board of Manufactures had initiated a cast collecting frenzy, and the Royal Institution was designed partly to accommodate the expanding collection. However, in essence the Royal Institution building showed that the TA had progressed from a School of Design to an architect-designed building, which was felt to offer 'students of fine art' a 'better means of improvement'.¹²

On the surface, the TA was in full classical revival, and this period of the TA's history has indeed been recognised as one of progress.¹³ However, scholars have also identified that classicism and naturalism were parallel to each other in Scottish art of the early nineteenth century.¹⁴ As the TA fully established its classical roots from c.1800-1830, this chapter seeks to explore how far the naturalist precedent set by David Allan had continued or evolved in the pedagogical methods of the TA. Moreover, given Edinburgh's status as a city of scientific and medical achievements, the question arises as to how far empiricist methods may have aided students' approaches to the human form at the TA. This chapter begins with a discussion of the approach of the TA master John Graham, moving on to consider the classical identity of the TA with particular reference to its cast collection. William Allan's tenure and the introduction of the life class will also form part of this discussion.

⁸ A.J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966), 15. See also Mary Cosh, *Edinburgh: The Golden Age* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 2003), 658-659.

⁹ Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, 20.

¹⁰ Ibid, 162. 2 June 1829, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 365-366. The Board charged the other institutions and societies rent for tenancy in the Royal Institution building.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² 2 June 1829, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, 365-366.

¹³ Helen Smailes, "A HISTORY OF THE STATUE GALLERY AT THE TRUSTEES' ACADEMY IN EDINBURGH The Acquisition of the Albacini Casts in 1838,"; Duncan Forbes, 'Private advantage and public feeling: the struggle for academic legitimacy in Edinburgh in the 1820s' in *Art and the Academy in the Nineteenth Century*; Joanna Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910".

¹⁴ MacDonald, 'Envisioning Burns' in Cullen and Morrison, (eds.), *A Shared Legacy: Essays on Irish and Scottish Art and Visual Culture*, 62-64. Rocco Lieuallen, "A Sculptor for Scotland: The Life and Work of Sir John Robert Steell, RSA (1804-1891)" (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2002), 294. 'It was naturalism especially, which informed the most influential Scottish artists of the generations immediately prior to Steell: Allan Ramsay, Alexander Nasmyth, David Allan, Sir Henry Raeburn and David Wilkie.' Lieuallen specifically allies Steell with the natural/classical style of sculpture made by Sir Francis Chantrey.

John Graham, History Painting and Naturalism

Prior to his appointment as master at the TA, John Graham had trained at the RA schools and exhibited there often as a history painter. By the time of his employment, the TA's attention was fixed on 'the Principles of Art, and of assisting those who aim at being Professional Artists'¹⁵ by merging its founding design aims and those of the fine arts under one Academy. Graham's tenure marked significant changes at the TA. As a result of his RA training, Graham instituted pedagogical changes along the lines of the RA, including the requirement of potential students to submit a drawing from a cast or from life before being accepted.¹⁶ However, Graham's role was arguably also significant due to his encouragement of history painting, which was underlined at the TA by his introduction of oil painting.¹⁷

On his return to Edinburgh from London, he exhibited a selection of his paintings.¹⁸ Like Runciman before him, Graham painted scenes from Scottish history, including the life of James I and Mary Queen of Scots. Wilkie and William Allan were his students, and Graham's emphasis on Scottish subjects and history painting is evident in the oeuvre of each artist. Wilkie openly admired Graham's *The Burial of General Simon Fraser after the Battle of Saratoga* (fig 3.3).¹⁹ Tellingly this painting adopted a contemporary approach to a heroic subject in emulation of Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe* (fig 3.4). West had taken pains to depict the likeness of General Wolfe and his soldiers so that it became a painting 'partly made up of portraits'; in turn, on viewing the painting George III commented that 'there was too much dejection, not only in the dying hero's face, but in the faces of the surrounding officers...'²⁰. This indicated an interest in emotion and subject matter that was rooted in realism and removed from the classical precedents set by, for example, Gavin Hamilton and James Barry²¹ in the eighteenth century. Graham imitated West's approach, shown by his study of Lieutenant-General John Burboyne, made in order

¹⁵ Anon, *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 1 July 1799 cited in the entry by Duncan Thomson for 'John Graham' in the *Oxford National Dictionary of Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004-2013. (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11210?docPos=7>).

¹⁶ Irwin and Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900*, 95.

¹⁷ Ibid, 95.

¹⁸ Anon, *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 3 July 1799 cited in the entry by Duncan Thomson for 'John Graham' in the *Oxford National Dictionary of Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004-2013. (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11210?docPos=7>).

¹⁹ Nicholas Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People's Painter*, 218.

²⁰ Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810*, 108-110.

²¹ Ibid. James Barry also painted the *Death of General Wolfe*, which was criticised because he represented the soldiers in 'primitive' costume rather than contemporary uniforms.

to capture his likeness and pose (fig 3.5).²²

William Allan would have known of Graham's *Burial of Simon Fraser* from his time studying at the TA. Both West's, and by proxy, Graham's paintings, were highly influential; each was engraved and widely dispersed. Wilkie related a story of William Allan encountering both prints 'in a Russian cabin, on the borders of Tartary'²³ during his travels in the east. Indeed, Allan used the same subject of the dying hero in his *Regent Murray Shot*.²⁴ Graham's immediate influence resonated most directly in Allan's work through his adoption of history themes and his lifelong pursuit of realism. The derivation of Scottish historical and genre compositions can also be in part traced to Graham's precedent, particularly with reference to the stepped placement of figures in a circular manner. Nicholas Tromans has recognised that Wilkie was 'mixing up the recipes for historical and genre painting' in the early nineteenth century; this hybrid style can be seen as the outcome of Graham's historical compositions and the genre tradition established by David Allan.²⁵

Moreover, both Allan and Wilkie's methods of copying from nature owed a considerable amount to Graham. John Burnet, a classmate of Wilkie's told, for example, of Graham's carrying an ass up 'three pairs of stairs to my painting-room'²⁶ as a model for *The Disobedient Prophet* (fig 3.6). Graham also selected models from 'from the street' according to how well they were suited to the imagined character.²⁷ There are later parallels with Walter Scott's discovery of 'an old gypsey woman (sic)'²⁸ as a model for Allan's painting *The Stolen Child Recovered* (fig 3.7). When drawing from cast fragments in the RA Antique Academy, Wilkie had 'to know to which statue the foot or hand

²² Burboyme had served under General Wolfe. The similarity of Graham's painting to West's led the *St James's Chronicle* to accuse him of 'plagiarism.' Ibid, 251.

²³ Anon, "Sir David Wilkie," *The Art-Union*, July 1841, 115. The author writes of 'certain themes in art were proposed by Mr. Graham to those pupils who were studying for higher art' and 'If Wilkie was in anywise indebted to another for the formation of his style, it must have been to Graham...' See also anon, "Artists Dinner at Edinburgh," *The Morning Post*, 22 September 1824, issue 16773, no page number listed.

²⁴ William Allan, *The Regent Murray shot by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh*, 1824, oil on oak panel, 27.3cm x 45.9cm, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh. It is worth pointing out that Wilkie's first prize-winning oil composition at the TA was a subject derived from a 'primitive' subject, albeit the 'higher' arts. David Wilkie, *Diana and Callisto*, c.1803/4, oil on canvas, 57.8cm x 72.4cm, Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, VA.

²⁵ Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People's Painter*, 71.

²⁶ John Burnet, 'Recollections of My Contemporaries: The Early Days of Wilkie', *The Art Journal*, 68 (1860) 237. It is telling that one of Allan's first exhibited pictures at the RA in London featured a painting called *Gipsy boy and ass* (present whereabouts unknown), perhaps encouraged by Graham in his endeavours as an known animal painter. Howard et al., *William Allan: Artist Adventurer*, 44. Graham made a series of lion and tiger paintings for the Tower of London in 1782.

²⁷ Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People's Painter*, 68.

²⁸ Howard et al., *William Allan: Artist Adventurer*, catalogue entry 64. Letter from Walter Scott to Samuel Rogers, 13 June 1821.

belonged; what was the action and what the sentiment.’²⁹ This was also evident in Allan’s quest for authenticity in his historical paintings. For example, his portrayal of Mary Queen of Scots (fig 3.8) was based on ‘Cobham portrait’, as it was believed to have been painted from life.³⁰ This was further shown by Allan’s antiquarianism, from replicating historic interiors³¹ and fashions with exactitude to his collection of armour and Eastern goods, which he brought back from Constantinople (fig 3.9). Walter Scott simultaneously was fostering Scotland’s nineteenth-century national identity, and it has been convincingly shown that he influenced Allan’s choice of subject matter and his pursuit of realism in his historical and exotic paintings.³²

Given Graham’s propensity for history painting and naturalism, it is unsurprising that the Board of Manufactures made a purchase of casts taken from the moulds of the Elgin Marbles in 1816.³³ The first of the Marbles had arrived in London in 1807, and those who viewed the collection were startled by the similarities between the ancient Greek sculptures and the likeness to the human form, which led to Lord Elgin employing life models to pose naked in a series of attitudes in the same space as the Marbles so that the two could be compared.³⁴ Lord Elgin also had a hand in the design of the Royal Institution in recommending the Neoclassical architect Charles Robert Cockerell to work on the design that was executed by Playfair.³⁵ Moreover, Lord Elgin permitted, on application, painters and sculptors to sketch from the collection, and one of the more vociferous voices amongst the group was that of the history painter Benjamin Robert Haydon. Haydon, who later became friends with the TA-educated artist David Scott, thought that the Marbles represented ‘the most heroic style of art confirmed with all the essential details of actual life’, and confirmed his belief that the ancient Greeks had studied anatomy and worked

²⁹ Bignamini and Postle, *The Artist’s Model: Its Role in British Art from Lely to Etty*, catalogue entry 19, 51-52.

³⁰ Jeremy Howard et al., *William Allan: Artist Adventurer* (Edinburgh: City of Edinburgh Museums and Galleries, 2001), 17.

³¹ Andrew Gibbon Williams, *The Bigger Picture: A History of Scottish Art*, 93. Walter Scott encouraged his friend to obtain the correct details for his painting of *The Murder of Rizzio* (1833, oil on panel, 102.9cm x 163cm, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh). Allan and Wilkie both visited the apartment where Rizzio was murdered in Holyroodhouse.

³² Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 48-51.

³³ Smailes, *A History of the Statue Gallery at the Trustees’ Academy*, 130. The Board of Manufactures were in an advantageous position by being composed of a group of men from the upper bourgeoisie, and this allowed connections and access to art works that might not otherwise have been possible.

³⁴ William St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles* (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2011), 164.

³⁵ Anuradha S. Naik and Margaret C.H. Stewart, “The Hellenization of Edinburgh: Cityscape, Architecture, and the Athenian Cast Collection,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 66, no. 3 (September 2007), 370.

from life (fig 3.10).³⁶ Haydon's association of Greek sculpture with 'heroic style' can be traced to the philosophies of the eminent art historian, Winckelmann, and his discussions of ancient Greek and Roman art. For Winckelmann, Greek sculpture was representative of 'sublime power and elevation', with the ability to be spiritually enlightening in its beauty and heroism.³⁷ The Elgin Marbles were considered of such importance that James Skene (the Secretary of the Board of Manufactures from 1830) felt it necessary to highlight this addition to the collection on top of 'one hundred excellent casts of the finest works of antiquity'.³⁸

The TA did not operate a life class when the Elgin Marbles casts were purchased. As a provincial school and with the absence of a life class, the TA's superior cast collection – 'only surpassed in Britain by the collection of the Royal Academy of Arts in London'³⁹ – would have provided the best possible pedagogical likeness to the human form in the absence of the life model. The institutional opportunities for studying from the life model were limited in Edinburgh during the early nineteenth century. As we have seen, a life class had been made available through The Incorporated Society of Artists (founded 1808) in 1811, although its impact was limited.⁴⁰ Therefore, the strengthening of the cast collection was essential to the TA's students' education, identified as 'the first branch of art, namely the fundamental one...drawing from the round.'⁴¹

Classicism, Casts and the Royal Institution building

By 1822, the Board of Manufactures had begun discussions regarding the building of the Royal Institution (fig 3.11). Recently, the cultural context for the work of Scottish artists in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has been discussed within the framework of Celtic inheritance and Classicism; or, in other words, as 'Celto-Hellenists.'⁴² Naik and Stewart have discussed the 'Hellenization' of Edinburgh in terms of its public architecture,

³⁶ Postle and Bignamini, *The Artist's Model: Its role in art from Lely to Etty*, catalogue entry 25, 55. See Benjamin Robert Haydon, *Lectures on Painting and Design by B.R. Haydon; with Designs Drawn by Himself on the Wood* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1844).

³⁷ Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 118. See Winckelmann's 'On the Imitation of the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks', published 1755, in *Winckelmann: Writings on Art*, selected and edited by David Irwin (London: Phaidon, 1972), 72.

³⁸ James Skene, *Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures*, paragraph 1189, 87. Lord Elgin, impressed with the TA and finding like-minded allies in Edinburgh, donated four panels of the frieze of Nike Apteros and metopes in 1826. Ruxandra-Iulia Stoica (ed.), *The Edinburgh College of Art: Cast Collection and Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh College of Art, 2009), 2.

³⁹ Anon, 'Births, Deaths, Marriages and Obituaries', *Caledonian Mercury*, 8 November 1817, issue 14989, no page number listed.

⁴⁰ Grier Gordon, 'The Foulis Academy, 1753-1776', *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, 5.

⁴¹ Skene, Report from *Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures*, paragraph 1128, 80.

⁴² Naik and Stewart, "The Hellenization of Edinburgh: Cityscape, Architecture, and the Athenian Cast Collection," 369.

specifically the Royal Institution, as carving out an identity for Scots within a union-nationalist framework and related to the Scots' 'humanist' education.⁴³ The authors discuss this system of education as running parallel to the classical concept of 'civic tradition', or as 'a liberal nonspecialist education that embraced philosophy, empirical sciences, and the arts' and attribute this to the use of Grecian architecture as a design template, particularly due to its philosophical implications.⁴⁴ Architectural identification with neoclassicism and the Board of Manufactures' undertaking of collecting classical casts was then also part of Edinburgh's civic, educational and identity-related programme.⁴⁵

Andrew Wilson, Graham's successor upon his death, was equally important to the Board of Manufactures in his role as master and, later upon his resignation in 1826, as a dealer. He was particularly well-suited to the latter role due to his extensive study in Naples and of Pompeii.⁴⁶ Through Wilson and the sculptor Thomas Campbell, working as the Board of Manufactures agent based in Italy during Wilson's tenure, the TA increased its cast collection sizeably. It comprised important statuary and ornamental casts from the Antique, and significant acquisitions as collections, notably the Albacini Collection.⁴⁷ The TA's cast collection was now comparable with that held by the RA which also included ancient Greek and Roman examples, casts after Renaissance sculptors, architectural fragments and

⁴³ Naik and Stewart, "The Hellenization of Edinburgh: Cityscape, Architecture, and the Athenian Cast Collection", 370.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910", 6-7. Soden has discussed that the RI and the Board of Manufactures wished to use the Royal Institution building in order to promote the arts in Scotland, and by extension, a Scottish identity. The *Minute Book* reveals that the Royal Institution were closely involved in the design of the building. See 24 January 1824, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 6.

⁴⁶ Anon, "Obituary: Mr Andrew Wilson, ARSA," *The Art Journal*, March 1851, 85. Wilson gifted casts to the Board, including the *Dead Christ*. 29 November 1831, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/36 (NAS), 186

⁴⁷ Smailes, *A History of the Statue Gallery at the Trustees' Academy, Edinburgh*, 130. Campbell purchased casts of (for example) the *Medici Apollo*, the *Dancing Faun*, the *Fighting Gladiator*, the *Crouching Venus* and the *Townley Venus*, the Florence *Baptistry Doors* after Ghiberti, and 'the Finest Vases...' For examples of the sustained and productive growth of the TA's cast collection, see entries for: 3 February 1824, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS) 9-10; 20 December 1831, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/25 (NAS), 189; 4 November 1850, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/39 (NAS), 222; See 25 April 1851, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/39 (NAS), 284 and 2 June 1851, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/39 (NAS), 298. In April of 1851, the Board was notified by Mr Christie of 'Statues from Rome' via correspondence from the sculptor Peter Solates. In June of 1851, the Board noted the gift of a 'Colossal arm' from the Vatican via the sculptor Edward Stephens. For a catalogue of the TA's cast collection see Charles Heath Wilson, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Casts from Antique Statues in the Trustees' Academy*, Second edition (Edinburgh: s.n., 1839). Edinburgh College of Art also begun a research project to catalogue the casts held in their own collection (as inherited from the TA), and the University of Edinburgh collections. See Ruxandra-Iulia Stoica, *Edinburgh Cast Collection: Research, Conservation, Interpretation*, Edinburgh College of Art (2011), <http://www.eca.ac.uk/casts/>

portrait busts.⁴⁸ In order to house the expanding collection, the Royal Institution was extended by Playfair during 1831-36, bringing the length of the Statue Gallery to seventy-five feet⁴⁹ (fig 3.12), and including in cast form such examples of classical statuary as the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Laocoön* and the *Medici Venus*.

The TA's decision to create its own dedicated viewing and educational space for statuary was significant in itself. Within the UK, the English School of sculpture had struggled to acquire support and adequate exhibition space in the RA at the beginning of the nineteenth century; sculpture was often shown in the poorly equipped space of the Life Academy.⁵⁰ The Board of Manufactures were involved in the design process of the Statue Gallery, with its 'arched ceiling, panelled in compartments... [the] informal sky lights now intended to be introduced...' ⁵¹ (fig 3.13). This indicates that the space was conceived of in terms of the viewing experience and therefore in relation to educational and exhibition contexts, as the Statue Gallery was open to the general public.⁵² Furthermore, Naik and Stewart have shown that authentic methods of displaying the casts were of great importance to the Board of Manufactures, with the Albacini casts displayed similarly to the sculpture in the Capitoline Museum in Rome.⁵³ The design of the Royal Institution was part of Playfair's 'scientific attainments'⁵⁴ in relation to the archeological exactness of Grecian architecture. This was echoed in the *Minute Book* of the Board of Manufactures in relation to its cast collection

In the knowledge of modelling the human figure, *the whole science of Sculpture* may be said to be comprehended, and those great works afford means of instruction in that department, beyond any other that could well be obtained.⁵⁵ [my emphasis].

⁴⁸ Valentine (ed.), *Art in the Age of Queen Victoria*, 42. Most of the casts were presented to the RA by the Prince Regent in 1816.

⁴⁹ See 16 March 1830, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/36 (NAS), 38.

⁵⁰ Alison Yarrington, 'Art in the Dark: Viewing and Exhibiting Sculpture at Somerset House' in Solkin (ed.), *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836*, 176. It bears comment that the RA chose the Life Academy as the venue to exhibit sculpture, given the obvious connections between models and the sculpted form.

⁵¹ 2 March 1824, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 13. Casts were moved to the Royal Institution building in 1826, with Wilson supervising the removal and delivery of the casts, many of which had to be 'cut out' of the Academy at Picardy Place. 7 March 1826, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 157. 4 July 1826, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/36 (NAS), 181. A Keeper for the Statue Gallery, Alexander Smith, was employed to 'set the statues', as well as lighting the fires for the gallery and opening and closing the building. 4 July 1826, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 185.

⁵² Yarrington in Solkin (ed.), *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836*, 181-182. Yarrington has discussed the designed aesthetic experience of viewing sculpture within purpose-built environments, including Thomas Hope's Flaxman Room at Duchess Street or Woburn Abbey.

⁵³ Naik and Stewart, "The Hellenization of Edinburgh: Cityscape, Architecture, and the Athenian Cast Collection", 374.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 375.

⁵⁵ 16 March 1830, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/36 (NAS), 37.

Here the concept of ‘science’ is defined by ‘knowledge, the primary rational value of the Scottish Enlightenment.’⁵⁶ This demonstrates the Scots’ knowledge of the ancient Greek architecture and in the ‘correct’ display of casts. That the Society of Antiquaries was housed in the same building further suggests that the TA would have been thinking about issues of authenticity and display. As has been shown, the Parthenon frieze, which ran the length of the Statue Gallery after its extension, replicated the correct, *authentic* display of the frieze while its classical origins quite literally held the fabric of the building together.⁵⁷ When Skene wrote about the ‘science of sculpture’ in 1830, the TA had access to a life class via the RI. Here, he made it clear that the education of art students involved a combination of classics, history and an examination of the human physique, a distinctly Scottish empirical approach to classicism.

Naturalism and contemporary sculpture

On the advice of Wilson⁵⁸ and the Board of Manufactures’ agent, Thomas Campbell, the TA acquired examples of modern as well as ancient sculpture. Campbell wrote to the Board of Manufactures in 1821 that

the celebrated Canova has z’ery [very] handsomely offered to the Academy a Cast of any of his works that the Trustees may select...⁵⁹.

Antonio Canova had direct links with British artists and patrons, first established on his visit to Rome in 1779-80 when he visited the studio of Gavin Hamilton.⁶⁰ As we have seen in Chapter 2, Hamilton played a pivotal role in the promotion of Neoclassical taste amongst artists and patrons, particularly in advising and providing paintings and sculpture for British collections.⁶¹ Christopher Johns has shown that Hamilton directly influenced Canova’s stylistic change from ‘rococo naturalism’ to classicism, and that through association with Hamilton, Canova was able to build and sustain links with British artists and collectors.⁶² The TA acquired Canova’s *Venus* (fig 3.14) and *Mars*⁶³ as proper for the

⁵⁶ Naik and Stewart, “The Hellenization of Edinburgh: Cityscape, Architecture, and the Athenian Cast Collection”, 375.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ 25 May 1825, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 96. Wilson wrote to the Board of Manufactures to request permission to visit ‘public and private collections’ for information that may have been useful for the fitting out of the new building. For this trip, the Board of Manufactures granted Wilson permission to purchase any casts that may be useful to the TA’s collection up to the sum of £100.

⁵⁹ Campbell to George Thompson, 31 March 1821, NG2/3/1/2 (NAS).

⁶⁰ Christopher M.S. Johns, *Antonio Canova and the Politics of Patronage in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 146.

⁶¹ Basil Skinner, ‘Scottish Connoisseurship and the Grand Tour’ in Fiona Pearson (ed.), *Virtue and Vision: Sculpture in Scotland, 1540-1990* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1991).

⁶² Johns, *Antonio Canova and the Politics of Patronage in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe*, 146-152.

⁶³ 15th June 1824, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 35.

aspirations of the Academy given Canova's then status in the United Kingdom as the most revered of contemporary sculptors. In particular, Canova's sculpture would have appealed to the Board of Manufactures for its 'new antique style', a combination of the naturalistic observations evident in the Elgin Marbles with the Roman classicism of the *Apollo Belvedere*.⁶⁴ Canova had also made it his practice to stain his marbles with a tint partly to reduce the 'crude brightness of recent labour' and this gave often gave his sculpture a more lifelike, or naturalistic, appearance.⁶⁵ Canova's tinted statuary drew from theories of colour and classical statuary, as detailed in the writings of his close friend, Quatremère de Quincey.⁶⁶ Quincey's seminal text on the topic of polychromed sculpture, *Le Jupiter Olympien* (published 1814), was catalogued in the TA's library collection from 1838 and may have been available to students prior to this date.⁶⁷ It is revealing that the Statue Gallery was designed with the view of 'communicating' with the exhibition gallery for oils.⁶⁸

In terms of students who studied at the TA, John Steell (1804-1891) was perhaps the most important figure in the realization of a native school of sculpture.⁶⁹ Although Steell never polished his marbles as highly as Canova, he was influenced by the greater movement towards naturalism, in terms of aesthetic treatment and in poetic themes inherent in nineteenth-century British sculpture.⁷⁰ Rocco Lieuallen has highlighted the influence of two other contemporaneous sculptors that exhibited the mix of naturalism and neoclassicism that Steell showed in his own work (3.15): the English sculptor Francis Chantrey and the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen. The TA had been advised by their agent Thomas Campbell to invest in Thorvaldsen, including a cast of his *Mercury* (fig 3.16); Scots sculptors were also studying under Thorvaldsen in Rome in the 1820s and

⁶⁴ Katharine Eustace (ed.), *Canova: Ideal Heads* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1997), 44.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 48.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 49 and 52-53. Canova applied a wash to his sculptures, and often tinted the cheeks and lips rouge. The tinting of marbles in the nineteenth century was part of a wider debate about authentic practices of the Greeks versus Winckelmannian theories of pure white statuary, and, ultimately, the debate became about associations of the immoral and problematic issues of transforming the ideal into the real. See also Andreas Bluhm et al, *The Colour of Sculpture 1840-1910* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1996).

⁶⁷ See NG2/2/29 (NAS), Catalogue of Books for use by Drawing Academy Classes (1838-1894) cited in Lieuallen, "A Sculptor for Scotland: The Life and Work of Sir John Robert Steell, RSA (1804-1891)", 36.

⁶⁸ 2 March 1824, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 13. The impetus behind this was to encourage the public to visit the Statue Gallery at the same time as the annual exhibition of art held in the building via the 'Society of Arts.' For further logistical planning of the building related to this, see 14 October 1825, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 116-119.

⁶⁹ Fiona Pearson, 'Sir John Steell and the Idea of a Native School of Sculpture' in Pearson (ed.), *Virtue and Vision: Sculpture in Scotland, 1540-1990*, 73.

⁷⁰ Lieuallen, "A Sculptor for Scotland: The Life and Work of Sir John Robert Steell, RSA (1804-1891)", 167. Steel was aware of the issues of colour and marble, and indicated so in a letter to Lord Rutherford dated 13 April 1853.

1830s, including Alexander Handyside Ritchie.⁷¹ Moreover, Chantrey had himself received commissions in Edinburgh through a member of the Board of Manufactures, Lord Meadowbank, and his sculpture was associated with the classical treatment of modern themes (fig 3.17), then associated with idealisation though recognisable portrait features and the inclusion of contemporary dress.⁷² Steell incorporated the same stylistic tendencies in his own work, and he continued to study from the TA's collection, being admitted to the Statue Gallery during the public opening hours on Saturdays and during the vacation period.⁷³ Steell's classicist position was aligned within the naturalist (or nationalist) canon when his fellow Scots artists sang the tune of Burns's *A Man's a Man For A' That* and replaced the words with references to Steell and his sculpture with 'the marble that lasts for ages.'⁷⁴

As we have seen, naturalist tendencies in the TA's pedagogical system had influenced Steell's approach to sculpture. It is also possible to see the empiricism of the Enlightenment diverging in other forms of study. Steell was a member of the Edinburgh Phrenological Society from 1830, a group dedicated to the pseudo-science that believed that the class, intellect and personality traits of an individual were reflected by the formation of the skull.⁷⁵ George Combe, an Edinburgh lawyer, was the driving force behind the phrenology movement in Britain and the founder of the Edinburgh Phrenological Society, the first in Britain.⁷⁶ Steell joined the Edinburgh Phrenological Society when it was still a relatively new science in the United Kingdom as it was founded in 1820; it is likely that his membership with the institution encouraged his use of a plaster cast of Robert Burns's skull in his monument to the poet (3.18).⁷⁷ The theory of phrenology separated the mind from the spirit and thus caused problems between followers of the science and Christian protestors.⁷⁸ Steell's understanding of human form was then rooted in classicism that was tempered by naturalism. He had actively pursued empirical

⁷¹ Pearson in Pearson (ed.), *Virtue and Vision: Sculpture in Scotland, 1540-1990*, 76. Thorvaldsen was considered the superior sculptor to Canova in an account by the Scot, Gilbert Elliot Murray Kynynmound, second Earl of Minto. For excerpts of his account, see Iain Gordon Brown, 'Canova, Thorvaldsen & the ancients: A Scottish View of Sculpture in Rome, 1821-22' in Timothy Clifford et al., *The Three Graces: Antonio Canova* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1995), 73-80.

⁷² Lieuallen, "A Sculptor for Scotland: The Life and Work of Sir John Robert Steell, RSA (1804-1891)", 60.

⁷³ 10 March 1828, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 299-300.

⁷⁴ Pearson in Pearson (ed.), *Virtue and Vision: Sculpture in Scotland, 1540-1990*, 74. Lines include – 'And boldy yet the song shall rise/For sculpture Steell, and a' that/Like thought, the marble lasts for ages/Nae time can ever thaw that...'

⁷⁵ Ibid, 65; Terry Friedman, 'Samuel Joseph and the Sculpture of Feeling' in Pearson (ed.), *Virtue and Vision: Sculpture in Scotland, 1540-1990*, 61.

⁷⁶ T.M. Parssinen, "Popular Science and Society: The Phrenology Movement in Early Victorian Britain," *Journal of Social History* 8, no. 1 (Autumn 1974), 3.

⁷⁷ Lieuallen, "A Sculptor for Scotland: The Life and Work of Sir John Robert Steell, RSA (1804-1891)", 171.

⁷⁸ Parssinen, "Popular Science and Society: The Phrenology Movement in Early Victorian Britain", 10-11.

methods of learning, including anatomy and phrenology, and he was a member of David Scott's Edinburgh Life Academy Association. This had been founded in 1827, and would have allowed him access to the life model. During this period, the TA did not yet offer a life class, and as the Scottish Academy was not formed until 1826, artists were dependent on private artist-run classes or institutional memberships for access to the model, but these wider contextual developments made it logical that it too should now begin to work towards life studies in the next few years through a number of personal initiatives.

Pedagogical Developments: The Study of the Life Model and William Allan

The clout of the Board of Manufactures in the first three decades of the nineteenth century was formidable. Its members belonged to upper classes and the 1820s marked a period of conflict in Edinburgh between the burgeoning professional class of artists and the stronghold of the patronage class. The dominance of the Board of Manufactures was, in the eyes of the burgeoning professional artists, exacerbated by its relationship with the RI. As both institutions shared members and accommodation, it was agreed to work together for the 'advantage of the objects pursued by both', referring to the RI's paintings collection and the Board of Manufactures' cast collection.⁷⁹ David Scott expressed his frustrations regarding the close professional relationship between the Board of Manufactures and the RI in a published letter:

The Royal Institution has here been principally referred to, it being apparently the source from which the Academy holds the apartments, but it in reality is a mere appendage to the Trustees; and in this transaction the one is so mixed up with the other, that each may be considered to represent the other, though, as already observed, they appear in any official communication to be distinguished with considerable precaution.⁸⁰

The power struggles between the Board of Manufactures and the RSA have been documented before and are therefore not worth reiterating here.⁸¹ It is, however, worth

⁷⁹ 26 May 1829, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 363-364. In 1829, although the Board charged the institution £380 rent, £500 was given to the RI in order to maintain its position as chief collecting and exhibiting body, in light of competition from the newly founded Scottish Academy. 2 June 1829, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 365. Forbes in Denis and Trodd, *Art and the Academy in the Nineteenth Century*, 88-89.

⁸⁰ David Scott, *LETTER to the Right. Hon. Duncan McNeill, Lord Advocate for Scotland on the Discussion Betwixt the Honourable the Board of Trustees in Connexion with the Royal Institution and The Royal Scottish Academy REGARDING The Fine Arts in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Alexander Hill, 1845), 8.

⁸¹ Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910." Soden has also documented the squabbles between the Board of Manufactures and the RSA, often due to the Board's unhelpfulness in accommodating the RSA's requests to gain access to the facilities in the Royal Institution building. See for example, *ibid*, 44-48; 2 June 1835, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/36, 450 (NAS); Gordon, *The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture & Architecture 1826-1976*, Chapter Ten "The Artists are Honoured and Encouraged by the Authorities" 1844-46.

⁸¹ See Soden, 'Chapter 2: The RSA Life Academy 1830-1853', 38-75.

stressing that the RSA (then the Scottish Academy) was founded by Scottish artists in response to the dominant position of the TA and the RI. As part of its founding indenture, a life class was offered by the RSA, although this would not come to fruition until 1840.⁸² Artists educated by the TA thus founded their own life classes in the 1820s and 1830s.⁸³ Already mentioned is David Scott's Edinburgh Life Academy Association. D.O. Hill also ran his own class, which specialized in:

Perspective – The Elements of Landscape – Classic and Picturesque Architecture – Forms and Characters of Trees – Hints on Picturesque Composition in Landscape – Sketching from Nature – Drawing the Human Figure, &c.⁸⁴ [my emphasis].

The foundation of life classes by TA students indicates that further study from the figure was considered essential, largely because the period of education offered by the TA was limited to two years.⁸⁵ Hill wrote to the Board of Manufactures after completing his initial two years education to request readmission to the TA as he may 'have no other opportunity of drawing from the Figure.'⁸⁶ The market for exhibiting paintings that used the figure as a subject – primarily genre and history painting – was underdeveloped and, in the 1820s, students were still reliant on the patronage of the upper classes and the landed gentry.⁸⁷ Despite the leaps in the TA's fine art education that had occurred under the tenure of Graham and Wilson, the Board of Manufactures was still clear that the TA should cater for 'those young men whose parents are in that rank of life, which incapacitates them paying Teachers of Drawing' as suitable applicants.⁸⁸ William Bell Scott, educated by the TA in

⁸² Soden, 'The John Frederick Lewis Collection at the Royal Scottish Academy: Watercolour Copies of Old Masters as Teaching Aids' cited in Potter, (ed.), *The Concept of the "Master" in Art Education in Britain and Ireland, 1770 to the Present*, 66-67.

⁸³ Other smaller Edinburgh schools were in existence during the period, including John Francis Williams's school (active in 1820s) and Daniel Somerville's drawing classes (c.1826). George and T. Carlyle offered private classes during the period in 'figure, landscape and flower drawing.' Multiple Advertisements & Notices, *Caledonian Mercury*, 6 December 1821, issue 16118, no page number listed and Multiple Advertisements & Notices, *Caledonian Mercury*, 2 December 1822, issue 15797, no page number listed. The Edinburgh Drawing Institution was also founded in 1824 as a private drawing school for the 'higher classes', including women, and by 1831 the life model had been introduced. See Smailes, "A Genteel Academy: The Edinburgh Drawing Institution 1825-1836." This is not an exhaustive list and Soden's thesis should be consulted for a detailed account.

⁸⁴ Multiple Advertisements & Notices, *Caledonian Mercury* 13 October 1832, issue 17851, no page number listed.

⁸⁵ Valentine, *Art in the Age of Queen Victoria*, 41. In 1800, the standard period of education for a student in the RA was 10 years.

⁸⁶ D.O. Hill to the Board of Trustees, November 1820, uncatalogued Board of Trustees papers (NAS) cited in Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 129.

⁸⁷ The RI was most successful through its exhibitions of Old Master paintings, although the 1821 exhibition in Edinburgh was deemed a 'modern one' as it included paintings by living artists. However, contemporary artists were not included in the organisation or exhibition of pictures, leading to discontent. The foundation of the Scottish Academy and particularly its significant purchase and exhibition of William Etty's (1787-1849) paintings in 1830 changed the course of the art market in Edinburgh, with the RSA performing as the main exhibiting body in Scotland, at least until the foundation of other exhibiting societies in Glasgow and other Scottish towns in the mid-Victorian period. Brydall, *Art in Scotland: Its Origin and Progress*, 330.

⁸⁸ Smailes, "A Genteel Academy: The Edinburgh Drawing Institution 1825-1836", 33.

the 1820s, was clear in stating that, during this period, becoming a professional artist ‘depended on getting into the Royal Academy.’⁸⁹

However, with the appointment of Allan as TA master in 1826 further pedagogical advancements were made, which were to turn the institution into a fully-fledged art academy, including access to the life model.⁹⁰ Then, in 1827, D.O. Hill wrote to the Board of Manufactures, stating his need for a ‘better knowledge of *drawing* the figure, to which end I have the strongest desire of being allowed to attend the Academy in the evenings...’⁹¹. He added that Allan ‘kindly expressed his desire that I should continue my studies under him.’ Two months later, Allan wrote to the Board of Manufactures, advising that the two years of education then offered to students was not long enough for them to obtain the ‘requisition of correctness in drawing’, as by the end of the two years the students were only just becoming aware of ‘how much they have to learn...’⁹². It is clear that Hill’s discussions with Allan prompted the newly-appointed TA master to contact the Board of Manufactures. It is also possible to assume that the general dissatisfaction at gaining access to casts and life models to draw from was discussed more widely between Hill and his contemporaries – including Scott and Steell – and it is probable that Scott’s Edinburgh Life Academy Association, founded 1827, was also a result of these feelings of discontent. These developments prompted the Board of Manufactures to become more involved in monitoring the students’ progress, initiating a competition of annual premiums, with the two best drawings to be awarded either money or a medal at the student’s discretion.⁹³

The next major innovation to take place under Allan’s tenure, instigated by the Board’s secretary Arbuthnot, was the introduction of gas lighting at the TA. This was instituted in

⁸⁹ Bell Scott, *Autobiographical Notes of the Life of William Bell Scott and Notices of his Artistic and Poetic Circle of Friends*, 80. Soden, “Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910”, 33.

⁹⁰ Allan’s first significant change was to arrange for new drawing boards, pedestals for the casts, desks and shelves to be fitted in the TA 20 December 1826, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 213.

⁹¹ Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 129. Letter from Hill to Sir William Arbuthnot, March 1827, uncatalogued Board of Trustees papers (NAS).

⁹² 22 May 1827, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 240-241. The Board agreed to extend the period of study to five years, at the discretion of Allan. Students and artists were granted permission to work from casts every Saturday and during the vacation, from August-November, and to three mornings of the week in 1828. ‘Associates and elective members of the Institution’ were also given permission to draw in the TA during the day. See 10 March 1828 and 26 November 1828, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 299-300 and 326.

⁹³ 27 November 1827, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 267. The four premiums to be awarded were £7, £5, £3 and £2.

1829 in order to follow ‘manners in which the Royal Academy is lighted.’⁹⁴ The Board of Manufactures would have been aware of the Memorial Exhibition of Henry Raeburn’s work in 1824 where the gallery was ‘brilliantly lit’ with oil gas.⁹⁵ Oil gas lighting provided almost six times as much artificial light as candles,⁹⁶ and gas lighting was more economical and safer than candles.⁹⁷ The introduction of new lighting technology had significant implications for the TA’s class hours (between 6pm and 8pm) and for the exhibition possibilities of the Royal Institution building. Perhaps more significantly, the light could be manipulated for pedagogical effect, particularly in relation to the study of the life model. The Royal Institution for the Fine Arts had instituted its own life class in 1829, which TA students were given permission to attend.⁹⁸ It has been suggested that the TA formed its own life class in 1830, although it has been difficult to ascertain the exact date of its inception.⁹⁹ It is clear from period sources that the TA must have formed its own life class already during the 1830s particularly as other life classes were also made available during this period, including the RSA forming its own class in 1840.¹⁰⁰ As we have seen, Anderson’s University in Glasgow first offered painting and anatomical classes from 1829 and may have offered a life class for some of this time.

Empirical Developments: Anatomy and Physiognomy

It is probably safe to presume that the earliest version of the life class held in the Royal Institution building would have resembled the life class at the St. Martin Lane’s Academy (fig 3.19). The model would have posed on a constructed dais, and students would have been placed around the platform and may have had individual reflector-lamps.¹⁰¹ Although there are no known life studies made in the TA under Allan’s tenure, a life study made by Thomas Faed (1826-1900) (fig 3.20) under the tenure of TA master John Ballantyne demonstrates that the model was spotlighted by a high hanging lamp by the use of ties and

⁹⁴ 10 July 1827, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 256.

⁹⁵ Gordon, *The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture & Architecture, 1826-1976*, 14.

⁹⁶ Mimi Sherman, “A Look at Nineteenth-Century Lighting: Lighting Devices from the Merchant’s House Museum,” *Association for Preservation Technology International (APT)* 31, no. 1 (2000), 37.

⁹⁷ Gordon, *The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture & Architecture, 1826-1976*, 60.

⁹⁸ 2 June 1829, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 368.

⁹⁹ See Soden, “Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910”, 53. The Day Secretary’s book (which records the models’ wages) does not begin noting payment until 1846. However, mention is made of a boxwood thermometer for the Life Academy on 26 November 1844. See the *Day Secretary’s book*, NG1/31/2 (NAS).

¹⁰⁰ William Dyce and Charles Heath Wilson, *Letter to Lord Meadowbank and the Committee of the Honourable Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures On the Best Means of Ameliorating the Arts and Manufactures of Scotland in Point of Taste* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1837), 33. It is worth noting that Dyce and Heath Wilson’s *Letter* was published in the 1830s and shortly afterwards, both men were appointed as masters at the TA. In the *Letter*, they made recommendations for a ‘School of Form’, the final stage being to draw from nature, including ‘the living model.’

¹⁰¹ Bignamini and Postle, *The Artist’s Model: Its Role in British Art from Lely to Etty*, catalogue entry 3.

brackets, as illustrated in the photograph of the Statue Gallery (fig 3.13). The use of a bright overhead light created dramatic contrasts in light and shade and, more importantly, sharply illuminated the model's anatomy. Faed's study shows a distinct focus on form, from the careful outlines of the model to the emphasis on musculature, tendons and the skeleton, evident in the model's foot, chest and outstretched arm, as posed for a moment of dramatic action.

Students of the TA attended anatomy classes in the 1820s until the 1850s; a life model was often used in demonstrations together with casts and drawings, as depicted in an RA anatomy lecture from the eighteenth century (fig 3.21).¹⁰² As we have seen, Edinburgh was a hub for scientific enquiry, in part due to its famous medical school. Moreover, as Sara Stevenson has pointed out, Edinburgh had a line of Enlightened thinkers including David Hume – the 'anatomist of ethics' – that developed philosophies grounded in humanism.¹⁰³ The lineage of anatomical study had a precedent in Scottish art through Wilkie. Together with Haydon, he had convinced the Scots anatomist Charles Bell¹⁰⁴ to give lectures on the subject in London in 1806, and in turn, Bell had been encouraged to paint by David Allan, showing that this scientific interest in nature had been evident since the late eighteenth century.¹⁰⁵ In the first half of the nineteenth century in Edinburgh meanwhile, Hill and Adamson photographed one of the city's leading anatomists, Dr. Robert Knox (fig 3.22) with his arm raised forward in the traditional *écorché* pose. In true empiricist fashion he believed that the only true way to understand the human body was through 'careful and oft-repeated handling and inspection of the skeleton, and by frequent actual dissection', believing that scientists, artists and amateurs could only learn via this method.¹⁰⁶ Further evidence that the Board of Manufactures was becoming more attuned to the study of anatomy is evidenced by the inclusion of *écorché* casts in the collection, including the art academy favourite of the *Smuggerius* (fig 3.23).¹⁰⁷ By the 1830s, the Board of

¹⁰² Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 131. Also see Macdonald in Cullen and Morrison, *A Shared Legacy: Essays on Irish and Scottish Art and Visual Culture*, 63.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 130. Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People's Painter*, 62.

¹⁰⁴ Bell published the most influential anatomical treatise used by artists in the first half of the nineteenth century and it was famous for its departure from previously published anatomical illustrations in its realistic renderings of the dissected body. *Anatomy of the Human Body*, published in volumes by Charles and John Bell in 1793-1804.

¹⁰⁵ Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People's Painter*, 66.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Knox, 'The Relation of Anatomy to Art', *The Art Journal*, March 1859, 69.

¹⁰⁷ Cazort et al, *The Ingenious Machine of Nature: Four Centuries of Art and Anatomy*, 86. *Écorché* casts were usually taken from hanged men after the bodies had been flayed. One man hanged for smuggling was placed into the attitude of *The Dying Gladiator* and a cast was taken, which was subsequently nicknamed the 'Smuggerius.'

Manufactures were also authorising casts to be taken from life.¹⁰⁸ As the male model used for anatomical demonstrations was a soldier, Private Davis of the Third Dragoon Guards, it is likely that the casts from life were also taken from soldiers stationed at local regiments.¹⁰⁹ Following in the tradition of the RA which hired ‘soldiers, pugilists or labourers’, soldiers were considered to be in fine physical condition while the military training enabled them to hold one pose for an extended period of time.¹¹⁰

In returning to Faed’s study (fig 3.20), it may be worth evaluating the race of the model in light of the TA’s empiricist methods. The model for Faed’s painting was John Mongo.¹¹¹ He first posed for the TA in October in 1846 and then again at various stages until the end of the year, which is when Faed completed the study. Mongo was presumably of Indian or Pakistani origin given the subtitle of Faed’s painting as *The Punka-walla* (referring to the servant who would have operated a ceiling fan in the Indian subcontinent). As Jan Marsh has shown - despite the general belief that Victorian art is ‘wholly ‘white’’ - Edinburgh during the nineteenth century had a resident black population,¹¹² and it can be assumed that other ethnicities also formed part of Edinburgh’s racial typing. Exoticism became a UK-wide interest and manifested itself in national exhibitions, including ‘The Indian Court’ of the Crystal Palace exhibition at Sydenham of 1854, the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886 and there was an Indian Pavilion at the Glasgow International Exhibition in 1888.¹¹³ Scottish artists were interested in exoticism, particularly in terms of portraiture and its decorative qualities including dress and props, shown in Hill and Adamson’s calotype of *Mohun Lal* (fig 3.24). Walter Scott had also written about the Oriental ‘other’ in *The Talisman*, published in 1825.¹¹⁴ The obvious precedent for using an Indian/Pakistani model was found in the work of William Allan and his exploration of ‘exotic’ subjects inspired by

¹⁰⁸ 20 December 1831, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/25 (NAS), 189. The sculptor Angus Fletcher was paid £26.5.0 for ‘Plaster Casts of the Human Figure.’

¹⁰⁹ A high proportion of the TA’s male life models were pulled from local regiments. For example, in 1850-51, James Craib posed for the TA and census results show him stationed in Edinburgh Castle as a Sergeant 93rd Highlanders, aged 34. *1851 Scotland Census* for James Craib, Line 3, CSSCT1851_185, 4. Donald McPherson also posed in 1851, and census results show that he was also based in Edinburgh Castle as a Lance Sergeant, aged 29. *1851 Scotland Census* about James Cobb, Line 5, CSSCT1851_185, 4. I am indebted to University of Glasgow History of Art librarian Tahitia McCabe for her help in recommending census resources.

¹¹⁰ Postle, ‘Naked civil servants’ in *Model and supermodel*, 11.

¹¹¹ Although ‘John Mongo’ is not referenced in the Day Secretary’s Book, the name ‘John Monro’ appears for the entries 21 October 1846, 29 October 1846, 6 November 1846, 12 November 1846, 20 November 1846, 26 November 1846 and 2 December 1846, which tie with the date of Thomas Faed’s life study. See the Day Secretary’s Book, NG1/31/2 (NAS).

¹¹² Marsh (ed.), *Black Victorians: Black People in British Art 1800-1900*, 12-14.

¹¹³ Nicky Levell, *Oriental Visions: Exhibitions, Travel, and Collecting in the Victorian Age* (London and Coimbra: The Horniman Museum and Gardens and The Museu Antropológico da Universidade de Coimbra, 2000), 70.

¹¹⁴ Howard et al., *William Allan: Artist Adventurer*, 8.

his travels in Constantinople (fig 3.25), with his studio being regarded as the 'land itself of gems, and tiaras, and bashaws, and banditti.'¹¹⁵ Moreover, Allan's 'exotic' paintings were described as:

... [a] kind of virtual anthropological genre painting, in which he conveyed aspects of the multifarious face of Europe's peoples, customs, traditions and values.¹¹⁶

This comment bears consideration in relation to the development of physiognomy in Victorian culture. Physiognomy was the study of human facial characteristics, which were believed to indicate the person's character.¹¹⁷ Although its origins can be traced to ancient civilizations, the eighteenth century marked a renewal of interest in physiognomy.¹¹⁸ Notably Charles Bell, who in turn was associated with Wilkie and Haydon, developed this interest into the nineteenth century; he also published *Essays of the Anatomy of Expression in Painting* in 1806.¹¹⁹ Indeed, the study of phrenology in Scotland evolved from the study of physiognomy; George Combe, the founder of the Edinburgh Phrenological Society, developed the science after meeting a leading physiognomist, Johann Caspar Spurzheim in Edinburgh.¹²⁰ The anatomist Robert Knox, photographed by Hill and Adamson, had also turned towards the study of anthropology and the differences between races.¹²¹ There is evidence to support Allan's exploration of physiognomy in his paintings, which is often viewed as nationalistic in history paintings. Of his *Mary Queen of Scots* (fig 3.8), *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* stated that 'he has made her cheek-bones broad, because she was a Scottish Beauty... [he] gave Mary the characteristic outlines of her country's physiognomy...'.¹²² That Allan was also interested in expression and gesture was underlined by his friendship with the actor William Henry Murray. In terms of physiognomy and race, 'the skull had replaced skin colour as the basis for racial

¹¹⁵ R.G., 'Letters on the Living Artists of Scotland. To a Friend in Florence. Letter 1. Allan', *Blackwood's Magazine*, December 1817, 314 cited in *ibid*, 44.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, 44.

¹¹⁷ Mary Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist: The Representation of Type and Character in Victorian Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 9. Phrenology was closely linked with physiognomy, and pathognomy was intrinsic to both as the study of facial expressions.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, 17-18. Johann Caspar Lavater was the practitioner who became known in Europe for his publications on physiognomy.

¹¹⁹ Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People's Painter*, 74-75.

¹²⁰ Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist*, 40-45 and 47. It is noted that by 1846, Edinburgh had the 'most impressive of the collections' of phrenological examples: '200 busts; 46 casts of skulls of different nations; 54 other casts of skulls and brains; 97 masks; 229 skulls of different nations; 89 various skulls; and 300 animal skulls.'

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 187.

¹²² C.N. (John Wilson), *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. XIV, July 1823, 10, cited in Howard et al., *William Allan: Artist Adventurer*, catalogue entry 23, 79. With reference to Allan's *The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe on Magus Moor* (1821, engraving after Allan by James Robinson & Co, 40.8cm x 61.3cm, The British Museum, London) it was stated that 'The delineation of Scottish character in the physiognomy of the Covenanters has a truth which cannot be mistaken...'. *Ibid*, catalogue entry 22, 78. Also see Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist*, 65. Cowling refers to an example of good physiognomy through one of Allan's portraits; she wrongly identifies the artist as 'William Allen.'

classifications.’¹²³ Although the development of theories of physiognomy proposed a more complex understanding of racial types with the publication of *Physionomies Nationales*¹²⁴ in 1835, most physiognomists indicated the superiority of the Caucasian skull to other races.¹²⁵ Allan’s interest in physiognomical methods is in keeping with his emphasis on antiquarian details, collecting and his interest in ethnicities. Although physiognomy was the preoccupation of many British artists in the nineteenth century, the TA’s employment of ethnic life models suggests that it was a further branch in its development of empirically based methods.

This chapter sought to explore the TA’s pedagogical development in relation to the figure in the early nineteenth century, and it has shown that classicism was dominant in the fabric of the TA’s educational stance. Yet it is also clear that the boundaries between the classical, the natural and empirical approaches were beginning to blur. David Allan’s emphasis on nature and history painting continued to inform the direction of the curriculum at the TA. We have also seen that artists were frustrated by the steps taken by the TA, despite the changes made, particularly during the 1820s, and that they sought empiricist methods to enhance their understanding of the human form. Traditionally classical artists, such as Steell and Scott, worked from life and researched anatomy and phrenology. This conforms to the definition of ‘empiricism’ proposed in the previous chapter. It should be pointed out that the RA also offered anatomy, geometry and perspective as part of its courses. However, the founding principles of the RA, as illuminated by Reynolds, showed that nature ‘in her concrete individual forms was inherently deficient.’¹²⁶ In Edinburgh, naturalist approaches in painting had developed a scientific and knowledge-based interest in empiricism.

I also previously proposed that naturalism was a style with engaged with nature and natural themes. This chapter has shown that the style was evolving; there was a coming together of history and genre painting and a cultural, educational and stylistic identification with ‘Celto-Hellenism.’ This was not strictly classical as it owed to naturalistic details and identified with Scottish post-Enlightenment values. As this chapter primarily focused on

¹²³ Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist*, 55.

¹²⁴ See, for example, G. Schadow, *Physionomies Nationales*, 2 vols, 1835, referenced in Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist*.

¹²⁵ Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist*, 56-57.

¹²⁶ Wein, ‘Naturalising Tradition: Why Learn from the Masters?’ in , *The Concept of the “Master” in Art Education in Britain and Ireland, 1770 to the Present*, 30-31.

the TA's institutional and pedagogical developments, the next chapter will focus on examples of the artworks of early Victorian artists associated with the TA.

Chapter 4: William Dyce and David Scott

Dyce was a British rather than a Scottish artist.¹

David Scott was always something of an outsider...²

The Scottish artists William Dyce and David Scott have presented a problematic disconnection from the line of Scottish art. Dyce has often been positioned as ‘British’, and the oeuvre of each artist has been described as ‘insecure’ and ‘incomplete.’³ This rupture in Scottish art is attributed to Dyce and Scott’s choice of ‘high’ subject matter, from religious and allegorical subjects to contemporary history paintings. Duncan Macmillan has discussed the shift in Scottish subject matter in terms of its changing market, with artists now serving ‘the taste of the public that employed them’, as we have seen in Chapter 3 with the formation of new exhibiting bodies like the RSA.⁴ The movement of these artists away from traditional Scottish subjects has further been underlined by their collective absorption of lessons from the Continent, including the influence of the Nazarenes and of early and High Renaissance art. However, on closer examination, Dyce and Scott both can be shown to have had close links with Edinburgh and particularly with the TA.

Scott was educated at the TA with his brother, William Bell Scott. He later formed the Edinburgh Life Academy Association and became a Visitor in the RSA Life Academy.⁵ Dyce was also based in the Scottish capital for most of the 1830s. He became a highly influential figure in British art education due to his *Letter to Lord Meadowbank*, co-authored with Charles Heath Wilson, son of TA master Andrew Wilson, and through his subsequent appointments in the TA and as the Superintendent of the Schools of Design. It has also been suggested that Dyce spent some time studying at the TA.⁶ Dyce and Scott knew each other and painted together in Venice (fig 4.0). Both men were part of the Edinburgh *milieu* that included John Steell and D.O. Hill. Given Dyce and Scott’s

¹ Charles Carter, *Centenary Exhibition of the Work of William Dyce, R.A. (1806-1864): Oil Paintings, Drawings and Etchings, Sketches and Cartoons* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen Art Gallery, 1964), 12.

² Campbell, *David Scott, 1806-1849*, 4.

³ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 212.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Scott first began teaching at the RSA in 1836, and he continued to work as a Visitor until his death in 1848. For further details of the RSA Visitor system, see Soden, “Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910”, 59. Scott also applied twice for the role of the master of the antique at the TA: upon William Allan’s resignation and then on the death of Thomas Duncan. He was unsuccessful both times. William Bell Scott, *Memoir of David Scott, R.S.A.*, 275-277.

⁶ Ann Steed, ‘William Dyce, his Training and the Formation of his Style’ in Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, 16.

connections with Edinburgh, this chapter seeks to explore whether their respective oeuvres can be more closely aligned with the canon of Scottish art than has hitherto been suggested. Is it possible to trace the visual identifier of naturalism within the figurative art works of each artist, given the Scots' propensity for genre and Scottish history subjects? Finally, if there is a tendency towards naturalism in each artist's figurative work, was this facilitated or encouraged by the TA?

Much has been written of Dyce in terms of his figures in landscapes and his connections to the Pre-Raphaelites, with particular reference to his religious subjects given his close alliance with the Tractarians.⁷ Lindsay Errington and Joanna Soden have examined Dyce's theories and practice in relation to art education, including his *Letter to Lord Meadowbank* and his unpublished theories.⁸ More recently, Ann Steed has discussed how Dyce's visits to Rome and his links with the Nazarenes had a formative effect on his style.⁹ Yet the literature on Dyce indicates that seeking to examine the use of naturalism in his art is not straightforward. His depictions of religious figures to landscapes were related to his beliefs as a 'High Churchman' and his own Christian vision.¹⁰ While naturalism has been identified as inherent to his art and theories, it has not been examined with reference to Scottish art.¹¹ Clare Willsdon has suggested a new approach in terms of Dyce's relationship to naturalism by indicating that he may have used photography as an aid to his painting process, forming part of the greater Scottish empirical inheritance from the Enlightenment as discussed in Chapter 3.¹² Dyce was certainly interested in D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson's latest developments in the calotype process and corresponded with Hill on the subject.¹³

⁷ Allan Staley, "William Dyce and Outdoor Naturalism," *The Burlington Magazine* 105, no. 728 (November 1963); Allan Staley, *The Pre-Raphaelite Landscape*, second edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001); Allan Staley and Christopher Newall, *Pre-Raphaelite Vision: Truth to Nature* (London: Tate Publishing, 2004); Marcia Pointon, "William Dyce as a Painter of Biblical Subjects," *The Art Bulletin* 58, no. 2 (June 1976).

⁸ Lindsay Errington, "Ascetics and Sensualists, William Dyce's Views on Christian Art," *The Burlington Magazine* 134, no. 1073 (August 1992); Joanna Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910." See Soden's thesis chapter entitled 'Plans and Theories, Dyce and Paton.'

⁹ Steed in Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*.

¹⁰ Pointon, "William Dyce as a Painter of Biblical Subjects", 261.

¹¹ Pointon, *William Dyce, 1806-1864: a Critical Biography*, 1-2. Errington, "Ascetics and Sensualists, William Dyce's Views on Christian Art", 493.

¹² Clare Willsdon, "Dyce 'in Camera': New Evidence of His Working Methods," *The Burlington Magazine* 132, no. 1052 (November 1990).

¹³ William Dyce to D.O. Hill, 21 July 1846, letter collection in the RSA Archives, accessed online via the *D.O. Hill Correspondence Project*, http://scottishphotography.org/?page_id=266. 'I have been labouring at my fresco in the new House of Lords incessantly during the day for five weeks past and have on that account been unable to pay a visit to Murays to see your Calotypes which I have no doubt are most beautiful things... I wish I could have a lesson from you in your art. There is a terrace on the top of my house

David Scott has received less scholarly attention than Dyce, and he is often viewed as a ‘tragi-comic’ figure of Scottish nineteenth-century art. This was due to his use of serious and ambitious history subjects that often struggled convey convincingly his intellectual intentions through the medium of painting.¹⁴ With the exception of Debra Wheatley, art historians’ lack of in-depth analysis of Scott’s oeuvre has meant that the principal sources for considering the artist’s motivations come from his brother, William Bell Scott, or from David’s own complex written theories.¹⁵ The work that has been done on Scott has aligned him with nineteenth-century Romanticism on account of his admiration of the work for William Blake, and suggested that his paintings fulfilled ‘the highest requirements for historic art, both as a thinker and a colourist.’¹⁶ It is true that the Scott family ‘suffered under a family mania for Blake.’¹⁷ This ‘Blakean’ philosophical and stylistic inspiration for many of Scott’s artistic efforts is visually evident. However, Scott also engaged with Scottish national and poetic themes, and he was also interested in the empirical developments in relation to the human body, taking place in Edinburgh during the 1820s.

This chapter begins by discussing the development of Dyce’s artistic theories, and his links with Scottish naturalism through to his later easel paintings. It will then consider Scott’s position in Scottish art, primarily in relation to his interest in empirical methods of naturalism and the development of his own artistic theories.

admirably suited for the purpose – and I think great use might be made of the process in preparing studies of drapery &c –.’

¹⁴ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 205.

¹⁵ Debra Jane Wheatley, ‘The Metaphysical Works of David Scott, RSA: ‘The Scottish Blake’ and His Symbolist Tendencies’ (PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen, 2008). Scott, *Memoir of David Scott, R.S.A., Containing His Journal in Italy, Notes on Art, and Other Papers*. Excluding Scott’s *Memoir*, few sources exist that are devoted to an analysis of Scott’s life and work. The most recent sole effort is by Mungo Campbell (*David Scott, 1806-1849*).

¹⁶ Dante Gabriel Rossetti, quoted in anon., ‘David Scott R.S.A’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, November 1881, 130:793, 590.

¹⁷ William Bell Scott, *Autobiographical Notes of the Life of William Bell Scott And Notices of his Artistic and Poetic Circle of Friends 1830 to 1882*, edited by William Minto (London: James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co, 1892), 68.

Dyce's Theories: The Nazarenes and Early Italian Art

The concept of naturalism in early nineteenth-century Scottish art was closely allied to the success of Henry Raeburn's portraiture and the 'common concern of the nature of society' explored in Wilkie's paintings.¹⁸ Wilkie's genre paintings explored Scottish naturalism in subject matter and treatment – helping to create a separate national, albeit pro-union, identity for Scottish art. This exploration of nationalism was further encouraged by the revival of Scottish genre and history subjects, as shown in the work of William Allan and through the popularisation of Scott's novels and poetry. Within this context, William Dyce emerged as a burgeoning artist in the 1820s, having originally turned his attentions to the study of theology at Marischal College in Aberdeen. He had trained for a short period in the RA schools and had quickly become dissatisfied with the curriculum, first leaving for Rome in 1825. Although Dyce would have visited the grand tourist sites during this visit, he made no mention of the Nazarenes and instead favoured the art of Titian and Poussin.¹⁹ On the topic of Dyce's visit to Rome in 1827, his son remarked that

...without the smallest intercourse with the Germans then in Rome and ignorant even of the existence of the new school of Purists... he began to regard Art exclusively in its most moral and religious aspect...²⁰

The 'new school of Purists' was the Nazarenes, then active in Rome. The group sought to 'demonstrate the spiritual nature of true art' by reviving the 'indigenous qualities of Northern art', particularly early Renaissance art.²¹ Steed has suggested that Dyce's ambition to create a new type of Christian art was reached independently of the Nazarenes, stressing that his *Madonna and Child*, painted in Rome in 1828, brought the Nazarenes to his studio, specifically Frederich Overbeck (1789-1869).²² Dyce and Overbeck in particular seemed to form a close acquaintance after meeting in Rome. As Dyce had rejected the training of the RA Schools, it is clear that his time spent in Rome was fundamental to the development of his own personal style and aesthetic views.²³ However, it is worth emphasizing that Dyce's understanding of truth and nature, informed by his own religious convictions that art should be morally and spiritually uplifting, was allied with the beliefs

¹⁸ Ibid, 202. Hoock, *The King's Artists*, 99-102.

¹⁹ Steed, 'William Dyce, his Training, and the Formation of his Style', Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, 18.

²⁰ Dyce Papers, Chapter I, cited in ibid, 18.

²¹ William Vaughan partly traces the revival of German medievalism to Wilhelm Wackenroder's *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbrüders* (Heartfelt Effusions of an Art-Loving Monk, 1797), a volume published with stories from the lives of fifteenth and sixteenth century artists. See Vaughan, *German Romantic Painting* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), 163-164, 169.

²² Dyce Papers, Chapter I cited in Steed, 'William Dyce, his Training, and the Formation of his Style' in Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, 19-20. In particular, Steed parallels Dyce's own vision with the Nazarenes in that each wished to publish an illustrated Bible.

²³ Ibid, 15-16.

of the Nazarenes.²⁴ The morally and spiritually uplifting qualities of Nazarene art – ‘Truth’ and ‘Individual Character’²⁵ – were also revived through the use of traditional techniques, including fresco. It is likely that Dyce was introduced to fresco painting processes through his contact with the Nazarenes²⁶; the extent of his study of revivalist techniques was revealed in his presentation of ‘Specimens of the Ancient Painting’ from the walls of the Baths of Titus in Rome to the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh in 1830.²⁷ It is owing to Dyce that fresco painting was instigated at the TA after the *Letter to Lord Meadowbank*, given Dyce’s understanding of the medium and due to his relationship with the Board of Manufactures throughout the 1830s. This resulted in his (short-lived) appointment as the TA’s Master of Colour in 1837.²⁸ In providing a fresco painting class, the TA showed a distinctively early response to the Westminster fresco revival, instigated by the Select Committee reports of 1835 and 1841. It was not until 1881 that, under RA President, Frederic Leighton, that a prize for mural painting was introduced at that Academy.²⁹ In general, fresco painting was not introduced as part of British art school curriculum until the end of the nineteenth century.

It is through Dyce’s *Letter to Lord Meadowbank* and his *Christian Art* lecture from 1844 that we are able to fully synthesize his artistic tastes and beliefs. In the *Letter* it was stated

By thus conducting the studies of the pupils with a reference to the history of decorative art, it is hoped that a more definite current would be given to their ideas... namely, to imbue the pupils’ minds with the sentiment and principles which are embodied in the productions of the best days of art; to enable them with judgement to adapt the inventions of ancient artists to the circumstances of our own times; and to teach them in their turn to become inventors and designers in the same good taste.³⁰

²⁴ Ibid, 20. Steed points out that Dyce’s association of ‘art with moral and religious sincerity’ was part of a wider European movement, reflected in artistic groups that were founded during the period like the Saint Simonians, for example.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Steed, ‘William Dyce, his Training and the Formation of his Style’ in Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, 19.

²⁷ Anon, “Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,” *Caledonian Mercury*, 28 January 1830, issue 16917, no page number listed.

²⁸ Dyce had connections to the Board of Manufactures; he was acquainted with members and painted a portrait of Lord Meadowbank, the prominent Scottish judge, advocate, politician and member of the Board of Manufactures (Dyce, *Alexander Maconochie Welwood, Lord Meadowbank*, 1832, oil on canvas, 122cm x 82.6cm). The Board also granted him a room in the Royal Institution building to be used as a studio. For references to fresco classes at the TA, for example, see entry for 29 October 1844, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/38 (NAS), 93. ‘A class under Mr Rice for fresco painting from 10 o’clock to 12 o’clock noon.’

²⁹ Clare A.P. Willsdon, *Mural Painting in Britain, 1840-1940: Image and Meaning* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 15. As Willsdon notes, ‘decorative’ painting was introduced as a school at the Royal College of Art in 1901 and it was part of the curriculum of the Slade School of Art, and of other art schools in the later nineteenth century.

³⁰ Dyce and Heath Wilson, *Letter to Lord Meadowbank*, 37-38.

In fact, Dyce and Wilson proposed to introduce a course of the history of art to students detailing the ‘revival of the ancient style, by Morto da Feltro, Giovanni da Udine, Raffaele and others’ to the ‘nature and causes of the decline of taste in pictorial decoration in the 17th and 18th centuries.’³¹ Perhaps most significantly, the authors advocate the direction of students ‘to nature itself’ and wished to impress on pupils the notion of ‘the necessity of thinking for themselves.’³² It is clear that by 1837, Dyce was formulating his own ideas about forming artistic taste, and tellingly, that ‘sentiment and principles’ should guide the artist in forming an art for his age. Dyce’s intentions were made more explicit in his *Lecture*, as Lindsay Errington has shown, where he equated sentiment specifically with Christian morality, favouring the ‘aescetic’ period of Christian art that ended in Italy at the beginning of the fifteenth century.³³ His understanding of truth in art was related to its actual, realistic representation in nature; he queried how Pinturicchio achieved local colour, suggesting that ‘in sunlight shadows partake largely of the local colour of the objects, and still more so in the shade viz. seen by the diffused light of the sky.’³⁴ The techniques of the early Renaissance masters underlined his belief that they had studied from nature, and that his role was not one of imitation,³⁵ rather, one of scientific investigation. Dyce’s practice of working from nature was similar to the art critic and theorist John Ruskin’s view; he described ‘truth’ as having a ‘moral as well as material’ meaning, and that to discover truth (or truth to nature) was an investigative process that required ‘long study and attention.’³⁶

‘...the Englishman’s Powers’:³⁷ The 1830s and Scottish Subjects

Dyce’s theories of art were articulated between the late 1830s and the 1840s and in isolation they appear to be the antithesis of Scottish naturalism. Added to this, Dyce exhibited paintings in the 30s and 40s that featured subjects inspired by biblical or literary

³¹ Ibid, 44-45.

³² Ibid, 39-40. Dyce’s role as the Superintendent of the School of Design in London have been discussed in detail in Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* and Bell, *The Schools of Design*. As we have seen, many of Dyce and Wilson’s proposed changes in the *Letter to Lord Meadowbank* were adopted by the TA and became the foundation of the ‘South Kensington’ system.

³³ Errington, “Ascetics and Sensualists, William Dyce’s Views on Christian Art”, 492. Errington notes that his favoured artists were Ghirlandaio, Botticelli, Perugino, Pintoricchio and Domenichino.

³⁴ Ibid, 493. Cited in the Dyce Papers, Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.

³⁵ This belief led Dyce to criticise the work of the Nazarenes for the group’s imitation of the techniques of the Renaissance masters, rather than working from nature. Ibid.

³⁶ John Ruskin, *Modern Painters: Their Superiority in the Art of Landscape Painting to All the Ancient Masters Proved by Examples of the True, the Beautiful, and the Intellectual, from the Works of Modern Artists, Especially from Those of J.M.W. Turner, Esq., R.A.*, vol. 1 (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1843), 25-27. Alison Smith has termed this Ruskin’s idea of ‘the innocent eye or infantile sight.’ See Smith in Staley and Newall, *Pre-Raphaelite Vision: Truth to Nature*, 13.

³⁷ William Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, second edition (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1914), 35.

origins, like his *The Dead Christ* (fig 4.1) or *Francesca da Rimini* (fig 4.2). This marked a monumental shift in subject matter from Scottish artists' favoured literary subjects of Walter Scott. Francesca da Rimini was a contemporary of the Italian poet Dante Alighieri, and Dante had portrayed her as a fallen character in his epic poem, the *Divine Comedy*, written from 1308–1321. The early Italian poet, Giovanni Boccaccio, then presented Francesca da Rimini's story in a new light, suggesting that she was not adulterous but that she instead had been tricked into marrying her husband Gianciotto Malatesta rather than her true love, Gianciotto's brother Paolo. Overbeck was also one of the first artists of the period to use Dante as a subject and perhaps inspired Dyce in terms of subject; the composition of *Francesca da Rimini* was borrowed from Overbeck.³⁸ Dyce's Dante-inspired painting was exhibited at the RSA in 1837, and it was received with acclaim in the Scottish press. The *Caledonian Mercury* reviewer stated that 'with strict reference to the highly poetical department under which it ranges, we conceive this to be the finest picture hitherto produced among us.'³⁹ Moreover, Dyce's movement away from Scottish art traditions was also suggested by William Holman Hunt (1827-1910). Hunt was a founding member of the Pre-Raphaelites, and he knew Dyce through the RA Life Academy where he fulfilled his duties as a Visitor.⁴⁰ Hunt reported

He talked then of the rigour of the Press against his attempts of thirty years before to introduce a severer taste in art. It was when Wilkie, Hilton, and indeed all figure painters, competent or incompetent, were drowning their canvases with asphaltum. Dyce, it was said, was shamefully servile, because his works resembled the quattrocentists. His retort had been that since the others imitated the cinque and sei centists, there was at least not less originality in his choice of masters of an earlier date...⁴¹

Here Hunt revealed that Dyce was trying to create a new type of figurative art in the late twenties and thirties, and that this decision was a conscious departure from the 'asphaltum' soaked canvases of Wilkie and his followers. Although Dyce was keen to paint 'symbolical designs of the B.V. [Blessed Virgin]'⁴² by the 1830s, Steed has pointed out that there was no real market for (Catholic) Christian art.⁴³ However, what followed for

³⁸ Steed in Babington, 'William Dyce, his Training and the Formation of his Style', *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, 21.

³⁹ Anon, "Exhibition of Pictures by the Scottish Academy," *Caledonian Mercury*, 16 February 1837, issue 18228, no page number listed.

⁴⁰ Anon, "Royal Academy of Arts," *The Standard*, 12 December 1848, issue 7591, 1. Dyce was appointed as a Visitor for the next term with Charles West Cope, Frederick Richard Lee and Charles Landseer.

⁴¹ Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, 146, 159, 186. Dyce employed Hunt to copy his *Jacob and Rachael*, and then in the cleaning and restoring of the paintings by Rigaud at Trinity House, and he stated that Dyce offered him the position of 'assistant-painter.'

⁴² Letter from Wiseman to Dyce, 1 September 1834, cited in Pointon, *William Dyce, 1806-1864: a Critical Biography*, 33-34.

⁴³ Steed in 'William Dyce, his Training and the Formation of his Style', Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, 23.

Dyce was a period of experimentation in theme and style. Steed has suggested that Dyce changed his style according to his subject matter where ‘a seascape is done in the manner of Bonington, a history painting like Wilkie, a fancy portrait like Reynolds...’.⁴⁴ While it is clear that Dyce had to cater to the preferences of the Scottish art market, I believe that he was also exploring different painterly methods and themes in response to Scottish precedents, leading to a period of experimentation and synthesis.

On his return to Scotland in 1829, Dyce was engaged with portraiture and, by 1832, he was able to claim that he had been fortunate to receive ‘all the employment’ for portraiture in Edinburgh.⁴⁵ His portraiture has been likened stylistically to that of Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Lawrence and Henry Raeburn.⁴⁶ The influence of Reynolds and Lawrence is not debated; the Dyce family had in their own collection a Reynolds’ portrait of *Dr. Beattie*, and William made a copy of the portrait of *Francis Humberston* after Lawrence (fig 4.3). Dyce had also made contact with Lawrence, showing him one of his earliest oils.⁴⁷ However, Dyce knew the Scottish portraitist Andrew Geddes (1793-1844), who in turn was also influenced by the portraiture of Lawrence, although he maintained a close friendship with Wilkie and travelled between London and Edinburgh. The men corresponded about art, specifically portraiture; Dyce wrote to Geddes about his first portrait commission in 1823.⁴⁸ Visually, it is evident that Dyce’s portraiture in fact also owes to the Scottish portrait tradition, observed by Geddes, established by Raeburn and ultimately reflecting the overwhelming influence of Rembrandt. Raeburn’s *John Pitcairn of Pitcairn* (fig 4.4), as Macmillan has shown, positioned the sitter within a receding space, and he used a ‘stable and positive light’ to accentuate Pitcairn’s face.⁴⁹ Although Geddes showed more interest in the subtleties of surface detail and luxurious colour, the bituminous shadows and directional light in Geddes’ and Dyce’s portraiture have their origins in the Scottish tradition (figs. 4.5 and 4.6). Other paintings made by Dyce during this period also directly fall into the genre tradition and ultimately acknowledge the

⁴⁴ Ibid. Steed has also shown that Geddes showed ‘pasticcios’ after Giorgione, Watteau, Rembrandt and Canaletto, suggesting that ‘At the beginning of the 1820s, it was acceptable practice to paint subject paintings based on the art of the past.’

⁴⁵ Letter from Dyce to Callcott, 26 May 1832, *ibid.* Melville points out that Dyce’s connections with portraiture were first and foremost personal as he ‘honed his technique on members of his family.’ Melville, ‘Faith, Fact, Family and Friends in the Art of William Dyce’, Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, 40.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 23; Staley, ‘William Dyce and Outdoor Naturalism’, 470

⁴⁷ Steed, ‘William Dyce, his Training and the Formation of his Style’, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, 16. The painting was Dyce’s *The Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpents of Juno*, oil on canvas, 1824, 97 x 71.8cm, Scottish National Galleries, Edinburgh.

⁴⁸ Dyce to Geddes, 26 September 1823, Edinburgh University Library cited in Pointon, *William Dyce, 1806-1864: a Critical Biography*, 5.

⁴⁹ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 161.

influence of seventeenth-century Dutch painting in Scottish art of the nineteenth century, and the Scottish genre tradition of the eighteenth century.⁵⁰ His *Sketch of a Doorway with a Water Barrel* (fig 4.7) and his etching of *A Cottage Interior* (fig 4.8) are reminiscent of David Allan's influence, as evident in Wilkie's early career paintings (fig 4.9) in its constituent parts: the cottage interior with its wooden beams and stone floor, the prominent source of filtered light and the use of ochre and brown associated with this period of Scottish painting, usually reserved for the shadows. Wilkie and Geddes were in fact known for their etchings, largely inspired by seventeenth-century Dutch painting and German etching traditions, and for helping to bring attention to this method of printmaking in Scotland.⁵¹

Dyce's two studies are worth commenting on for their experimentation with theme and technique. In juxtaposition with the dominant genre paintings of interiors that used complex figural groups, Dyce's sketch and etching are remarkable for being cottage interiors without figures, or in focusing on a single figure in quiet contemplation. Instead of looking inward to the cottage, Dyce's pictures look outward. This is further emphasised by the open door in *Sketch of a Doorway* (fig 4.7), inviting the viewer to look for the hint of greenery beyond. The stone floor in the cottage is executed with precision, and the verticals of the wooden beams are juxtaposed with the horizontal paint strokes of the wooden barrel. In this sketch, it is possible to see that Dyce was occupied with the materiality of his vision, and this is highlighted by the way he carefully painted the natural light that falls on to the stone floor. Rather than use the cottage as a 'stage' where the various figures play a part in the narration of the story as is shown in Wilkie's painting, the lack of theatrical embellishment shows Dyce's increasing tendencies towards realistic detail. Nature is quite literally central to the composition and is inherent in Dyce's exploration of light and surface. In this sketch, Dyce explored naturalism through the traditional framework of Scottish genre⁵² and confirmed his belief in 'truth' as an act of

⁵⁰ Julia Lloyd Williams, *Dutch Art and Scotland: A Reflection of Taste* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1992), 49. See the chapter by Lindsay Errington 'Gold and Silver in Shadow: The Dutch Influence on Nineteenth-Century Scottish Painting' where it is stated that 'Scottish artists, led in the first instance by David Wilkie, turned to Holland as another small nation possessing certain cultural and religious affinities with their own. In the seventeenth century the Dutch had created – almost as it seemed, from nothing – a secular school of painting.'

⁵¹ Pointon, *William Dyce, 1806-1864: a Critical Biography*, 26. Wilkie had a portfolio issued in 1825, which included seven of his etchings. Moreover, one of the etchings in this portfolio depicted women standing before an open cottage door. David Wilkie, *The Cottage Door*, date not known (c.1820?), etching on paper, 11cm x 7.7cm, Tate Britain, London. It is worth pointing out that although etching was used as a medium by Scottish genre artists, the Runciman brothers are also notable for their etchings which 'suggest... Rembrandt, Teniers and ultimately Dürer for inspiration.' Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-1990*, 118-119.

⁵² Pointon, *William Dyce, 1806-1864: A Critical Biography*. Dyce made two etchings in 1834, which were exhibited in 1835 at the RSA as 'studies from nature.'

optical investigation. Indeed, as Willsdon has shown, Dyce's interest in scientific processes of optics was not uncharacteristic, particularly given that he was raised 'in an atmosphere of scientific enquiry.'⁵³ In addition, Dyce's time spent in Edinburgh would have encouraged his curiosity for empirical methods, as shown by his involvement with the Society of Antiquaries.

Dyce's attention to the effects of light and the rendering of minute detail also permeated his landscapes. The Scottish interest in atmospheric effects in landscape painting was part of a tradition that has been traced to Claude; Hill in particular painted 'sunset light' and he greatly admired the work of Turner.⁵⁴ Similarly, we know that during the 1830s Dyce sketched *en plein air*, as shown in Scott's depiction (fig 4.0), and that he made landscape watercolour studies from his trip to the Continent. *Rhône at Avignon* (4.10), as Allan Staley suggests, showed Dyce's preoccupation with light 'so strong that it destroys colour.'⁵⁵ Dyce's painting of *Shirrapburn Loch*⁵⁶ from the 1830s indicates that the artist was beginning to realise his vision of 'truth in nature' that would result in the 'literalness' in his religious landscape depictions of the 1850s and early 1860s.⁵⁷ It also shows Dyce's interest in geology, an apparent paradox given Dyce's identification as an Anglo-Catholic. However, as Christopher Newall has discussed, by the mid-Victorian period, the resistance from the Church had settled in relation to geological discoveries and questions of biblical history.⁵⁸ In particular, the study of geology had faced opposition from the 'Oxford group' as they argued that the earth's shifting landscape could be attributed to acts from the Old Testament, including Noah's flood.⁵⁹ Dyce belonged to an age of artists (and he was part of a Scottish tradition) that belonged to 'mimetic-record making that was factual and

⁵³ Willsdon, "Dyce 'in Camera': New Evidence of His Working Methods", 764. Dyce's father was a lecturer in medicine at Marischal College, and Dyce won a prize in 1832 for his essay 'On the Relations between the Phenomena of Electricity and Magnetism and the Consequences Deducible from those Relations.' Also see Babington et al for discussions of Dyce's scientific interests in *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*.

⁵⁴ Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 146.

⁵⁵ Staley, *The Pre-Raphaelite Landscape*, 225.

⁵⁶ Anon, "View Finally Clears on Scenery in Masterpiece," *The Scotsman*, 9 September 2006. Dr Kenneth MacTaggart and Helen Smailes, the curator of the painting (Scottish National Galleries) identified the location of the painting. See Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, catalogue entry 23, 118.

⁵⁷ Pointon, "William Dyce as a Painter of Biblical Subjects", 260.

⁵⁸ Christopher Newall, 'Understanding the Landscape' from Staley and Newall, *Pre-Raphaelite Vision: Truth to Nature*, 133. Also see Vaughan, *Art and the Natural World in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Three Essays*, 24. Vaughan suggests that the links between geology and religion were a particularly English concern, and that Dyce may have been more interested in the 'philosophical' geological issues.

⁵⁹ Newall in Staley and Newall, *Pre-Raphaelite Vision: Truth to Nature*, 133. This may have owed something to the scientific theories of the Neptunists. Neptunists believed that rock formations were created by the crystallization of minerals during the creation of oceans, referencing the Genesis creation myth. This view had fallen out of fashion by the mid-nineteenth century in favour of Plutonist theories that suggested that rock formations were the result of volcanic activity.

reliable.’⁶⁰ By visually recording geological developments, Dyce would have believed that he was doing God’s work, studying nature that would aid him (and others) in understanding His lessons.⁶¹ This was realised in Dyce’s religious pictures of the late 1850s and early 1860s, specifically *The Man of Sorrows* (fig 4.11) and *David in the Wilderness* (fig 4.12), as the religious figures were located within the landscape of the Scottish Highlands.⁶² Dyce’s *The Man of Sorrows* famously prompted the art critic F.G. Stephens to comment that ‘but why – with all this literalness – not be completely loyal, and paint Christ himself in the land where he really lived?’⁶³ It is perhaps more pertinent to ask why Dyce painted Christ within a British (certainly Scottish) landscape, rather than the generalised background of his early religious paintings (fig 4.13), or the Eastern landscape visible in *St. John Leading the Blessed Virgin Mary from the Tomb* (fig 4.14).

Dyce’s Personal Vision: Religiosity and Figures in Scottish Landscape

Dyce’s religious paintings have been discussed in relation to his own artistic and religious convictions and those of his contemporaries at the RA, including the Roman Catholic artist J. R. Herbert.⁶⁴ His work has not been discussed within its Scottish context, due the obvious dichotomy that the dominant Scots painter of religious subjects was Wilkie, famous for his painting of *The Preaching of John Knox* (fig 4.15), a subject in direct opposition to Dyce’s religious beliefs.⁶⁵ This painting is set in the period of Knox’s life just after he had been exiled for thirteen years, and shows the moment he spoke in St Andrew’s and persuaded noble men and women present to take up his doctrine of Protestantism, leading to the Protestant Reformation in Scotland under the Catholic rule of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise. However, in terms of the aims of Wilkie and Dyce, the disparities between the artists perhaps become less obvious when we realise that Wilkie viewed ‘the art of painting itself as inherently Christian’⁶⁶ and painted scenes of both Protestant and Catholic worship. Given Wilkie’s prominence in the nineteenth-century art world, his links

⁶⁰ Staley and Newall, *Pre-Raphaelite Vision: Truth to Nature*, 132-133.

⁶¹ Ibid, 142.

⁶² Pointon, “William Dyce as a Painter of Biblical Subjects”, 260. Dyce’s landscape has been identified as Scottish by Pointon, rather than as an English landscape, as believed by F.G. Stephens in his review of it for *The Athenaeum*. Stephens stated that Dyce represented Christ ‘not in an Eastern wilderness, but in an English waste, with English herbage and wild flowers about, under an English sky.’ Stephens, ‘Royal Academy: Fine Arts’, *The Athenaeum*, 12 May 1860, 653

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Staley, *The Pre-Raphaelite Landscape*, 262.

⁶⁵ Melville has described Dyce’s religious subjects as justified ‘in an Anglican, not a Catholic, context.’ See Melville, ‘Faith, Fact, Family and Friends in the Art of William Dyce’ in Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, 39.

⁶⁶ Tromans, *David Wilkie: Painter of Everyday Life*, 28. To paraphrase Tromans, he references Wilkie’s ideas of sculpture being ‘in the shadow of the pagan Antique’, whereas religious painting had generally evolved in civilized societies (here referring to the Renaissance) where the medium could convey ‘the mysteries of a spiritual revelation.’

with figurative painting, naturalism and the TA, and his exploration of religious themes, it begs the question as to why he should be excluded in discussions related to Dyce. Moreover, it may help in determining why Dyce chose to place his vision of Christ in a Scottish landscape.

As mentioned, during the 1820s and 1830s Dyce had exhibited overtly religious subjects. The exhibition of these pictures would have been controversial given the political and cultural climate surrounding the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, and Protestant zealotry (in part owing to preaching of the evangelical leader Thomas Chalmers) created further hostilities.⁶⁷ Throughout this period, Dyce also painted a more intimate type of devotional picture. Dyce's *Roslin [Rosslyn] Chapel* (fig 4.16), similarly to *Sketch of a Doorway* (fig 4.7), shows the interior of the Chapel from the perspective of looking outwards. Rosary beads and the bible rest on the floor, and sunlight – the light of God – pours in from the open door and window to illuminate them. In this painting, Dyce expresses his own religious convictions; the choice of Rosslyn Chapel was deliberate, owing to its ecclesiastical history and its contemporary association with the Tractarian Movement, which was then partly inspired by the writings of Walter Scott.⁶⁸ Jennifer Melville has suggested that Dyce was 'not so much concerned with the architecture of the building as with its holy nature.'⁶⁹ As the painting conforms stylistically to the 'cottage' format of genre paintings, it is not unsurprising to see the artist work from other traditionally Scottish subjects during this period. In 1830, Dyce illustrated Thomas Dick Lauder's (then Secretary of the Board of Manufactures) *An Account of the Great Floods of August 1829 in the Province of Moray and Adjoining Districts*, and again he illustrated Lauder's *Highland Rambles* in 1837 (fig 4.17), partly to cement his relationship with TA Trustees, still dominant as patrons of Scottish artists. Lauder's books were notable in being stylistically similar to Walter Scott's own writing (the Lauder family being close to the Scott family), and the illustrations Dyce made are stylistically comparable with the numerous illustrations made by other artists for Scott's books.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Ibid, 36; Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People's Painter*, 178-179.

⁶⁸ Pointon, *William Dyce, 1806-1864: a Critical Biography*, 24. The Tractarians had admired Scott's vision of a medieval past and celebrated his books. Moreover, Scott wrote a poem that referenced Rosslyn, called *Rosabelle*. Dyce had also designed the title page of the Tractarians *The Library of the Fathers* in 1836. See Amy Cruse, *The Victorians and Their Books* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1962).

⁶⁹ Melville in Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, catalogue entry 12, 98. Melville notes that Dyce's interest in the chapel may have also stemmed from the publication of *The Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn* in 1835.

⁷⁰ Richard D. Altick, *Paintings from Books: Art and Literature in Britain, 1760-1900* (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1985), 427. The artists that referenced Scott's work in paintings are too numerous to mention, but they include Wilkie, Landseer, Mulready, William Allan, Watson Gordon and Scott Lauder.

It is perhaps, then, not so unsurprising that Dyce painted *John Knox Dispensing the Sacrament at Calder House* (fig 4.18) in 1835-37, a painting which shows Knox giving the Calvinist rite of communion and thus marking the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland. The painting has since been described as a 'homage to David Wilkie.'⁷¹ From Holman Hunt, we learn that Wilkie's *The Blind Fiddler* (fig 4.19) was different from other artists' paintings in that it was worked 'without any dead colouring, finishing each bit thoroughly in the day.' Hunt then 'laid aside the habitual practice of painting in three layers, together with the loose handling... which excused no false touch.'⁷² This process of working on one part at a time rather than building up tone in stages is more akin to the process of fresco, and it is telling that Wilkie features as a name in the Pre-Raphaelites' list of *Immortals*, a group closely associated with Dyce because of his truthful representation of nature and moral sentiment. Nicholas Wiseman, then Rector of the English College in Rome and future Archbishop of Westminster, wrote to Dyce in 1834

When portrait painting and scene painting or what is very akin to it form the surest careers to success for a young artist, to see one who dares to admire and longs to imitate the old, symbolic, Christian manner of the ancients is refreshing indeed to the mind...⁷³.

Although Dyce has been associated with English art traditions, the exception is his painting of *Knox* which has been interpreted as conforming to Scottish subject paintings in a period where the dominance of Wilkie was pronounced.⁷⁴ We have seen that Dyce was synthesising aspects of Scottish naturalism and genre paintings, and it may be that he was inspired by Wilkie's example of religious history painting. Nicholas Tromans has also shown that Wilkie was consciously thinking about painting 'explicitly Protestant subjects', and that he was aware of his role in visually engaging and widening Protestant subjects in order to 'reach the people.'⁷⁵ Painting could 'represent the mysteries of a spiritual revelation. The art of painting seems made for the service of Christianity; would that the

⁷¹ Ann Steed in Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, 94, catalogue entry 11. Steed also notes that Dyce's painting pre-dates Wilkie's painting of the same subject, intended as a companion piece to his *The Preaching of Knox before the Lords of the Congregation*.

⁷² Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, 38, 61. Hunt describes Wilkie's *The Blind Fiddler* as an 'excellent example of the principles enforced by academic rules; it will enable the attentive reader to trace the serpentine line as the ground plan of the arrangement of figures and salient accessories, and also the pyramidal forms of groups in the composition. As to the first and secondary lights and their relation to the tertiary lights and deepest darks, and also the cutting off of a corner by shadow, it is also edifying.'

⁷³ Wiseman to Dyce, 1 September 1834, Dyce Papers, Aberdeen, cited in Pointon, *William Dyce, 1806-1864: a Critical Biography*, 33-34. See also anon, "William Dyce R.A.," *The Athenaeum*, 20 February 1864, 264, where the author discusses Dyce's exhibition of *The Descent of Venus* at the RSA in 1836. Dyce, *The Descent of Venus*, c.1836, oil on canvas, 48cm x 31cm, Aberdeen Art Gallery & Museum. It is also worth nothing that Wiseman had lectured and published on the relationship of religion to science.

⁷⁴ Robert Scott Lauder and Thomas Duncan were both painting scenes from Scottish history and literature during the 1830s. The Scottish (and other) artists that made paintings of John Knox after Wilkie's example are too numerous to list here, although Duncan and William Quiller Orchardson (all Edinburgh-based) painted the subject.

⁷⁵ Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People's Painter*, 180 and 184.

Catholics were not the only sect who have seen its advantages...'.⁷⁶ Compare this with Dyce's belief that the role of a painter was to 'exercise his gifts and faculties for the greater glory of God through the instruction of man.'⁷⁷ Wilkie's attempt to introduce a Protestant type of painting reminds us of Holman Hunt's statement that Dyce attempted to 'introduce a severer', Christian form of art. Dyce may have interpreted Wilkie's pictures in the same manner as Etty's religious subjects, of which he said that they 'are not sacred pictures, though they have sacred arguments.'⁷⁸ Wilkie left for the Holy Land in the quest to gain 'an authentic archaeological and anthropological'⁷⁹ understanding of the sacraments, much like Holman Hunt's empirical search for authenticity before him. Dyce's vision of Christianity was to culminate in a series of paintings that located Christ in the wilderness, encompassing a naturalistic approach to painting figures in landscapes and with particular attention to realistic details.

Dyce's easel paintings from the later 1850s show an increased awareness of meticulous, realistic detail in his rendering of the natural world, and this has been attributed to his knowledge of the work of the Pre-Raphaelites.⁸⁰ However, prior to the foundation of the Pre-Raphaelites, Dyce had been exploring the minutiae of nature within a Scottish locale, and there is evidence to suggest that he wished to source a landscape that would correlate with the needs of each painting. In 1861 he exhibited *George Herbert at Bemerton* (fig 4.20), depicting the Vicar of Bemerton in his parish, with the spire of the Cathedral shown in the background.⁸¹ The landscape is undoubtedly English, similarly to *The Entrance to the Vicarage* (fig 4.21). It is apparent that the landscape setting was *central* to Dyce's imagining of the painting. This applies to Dyce's *The Man of Sorrows* (fig 4.11), in which

⁷⁶ Sarah Uwins, *A Memoir of Thomas Uwins* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858), volume two, 270, cited in Tromans, *David Wilkie: Painter of Everyday Life*. Tromans has shown that Wilkie 'aspired to emulate Catholic art's emotional impact and symbolic formats.' Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People's Painter*, 196 (see 178-196).

⁷⁷ Irwin and Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900*, 252. Dyce's religious beliefs mean that he 'saw the Middle Ages as a time when the Church met the needs of the congregation, both religiously and aesthetically and as a result laid more emphasis on church ritual and decoration. Many artists were drawn to the movement for this reason, becoming more involved in decorative schemes in churches...'. See Emily Hope Thomson in 'The Religious Landscapes of William Dyce' in Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, 47.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Tromans, *David Wilkie: Painter of Everyday Life*, 28.

⁸⁰ For example, see Staley, *The Pre-Raphaelite Landscape*, 228. Dyce had taught Hunt and John Everett Millais in the RA Life Academy, and he was on the Hanging Committee for the RA in 1849 where he most likely influenced the selection of Pre-Raphaelite works. Ruskin has told of Dyce forcing him to examine the merits of Millais' *Christ in the House of his Parents*.

⁸¹ Carter, *Centenary Exhibition of the Work of William Dyce, R.A. (1806-1864): Oil Paintings, Drawings and Etchings, Sketches and Cartoons*, catalogue entry 43, 46. In a reading suggested by William Vaughan, the landscape of *George Herbert at Bemerton* contains symbols related to its religious meaning. Vaughan, *Art and the Natural World in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Three Essays*, 27-28.

he depicted Christ within a desolate landscape that corresponded with quotation by the Tractarian John Keble exhibited with the painting

...What time, unshelter'd and unfed
Far in the wild His steps were driven.⁸²

Pointon has discussed the painting in terms of the landscape serving 'to reinforce the artist's presentation of Christ the man in his most human.'⁸³ She adds that Dyce was trying to present Christ in his contemporary form due to his theological beliefs.⁸⁴ This standpoint is shown by Dyce's search for life models that fit with his visual interpretation of Christ (4.22) and he drew realistic depictions of models throughout his career. Through sketches and the use of photographs,⁸⁵ Dyce (then based in London) sought the stark and barren landscape of the Scottish Highlands to correspond with his image of Christ in the wild. Pointon also asserts that Dyce's 'native scenery had far more to offer an artist who valued the symbolic and emotive qualities of landscape.'⁸⁶ Dyce had indeed shown that he was interested in the awe-inspiring power of nature, describing the Welsh mountains as 'awful and terrific looking' in 1860.⁸⁷ Dyce had been raised in a culture that had been informed by the 'powerful impetus' of the Scottish landscape, partly informed by Scott's writing, and he had explored the differing landscapes of Scotland in oils and watercolours over the years.⁸⁸ Similarly in Scotland, his colleagues were exploring geological and historic interests related to Scottish and Celtic identity, as shown by the artist James Drummond's exploration of Scottish standing stones.⁸⁹

Dyce's *David in the Wilderness* (fig 4.12) is presumed to have been painted at the same time as *The Man of Sorrows*.⁹⁰ It depicts King David, located in a landscape resembling the

⁸² Staley, *The Pre-Raphaelite Landscape*, 231. Staley notes that Dyce exhibited the picture in the Liverpool Academy without the quote but with the title 'And Jesus was led by the Spirit unto the Wilderness, and in those days he did eat nothing.'

⁸³ Pointon, "William Dyce as a Painter of Biblical Subjects", 261.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Willsdon, "Dyce 'in Camera': New Evidence of His Working Methods."

⁸⁶ Pointon, "William Dyce as a Painter of Biblical Subjects", 262.

⁸⁷ Staley, *The Pre-Raphaelite Landscape*, 233. Emily Hope Thomson has suggested that the landscape may be English, but concludes that it is more likely to be Scottish as Dyce visited his home country around the time that the picture was painted. Thomson in 'The Religious Landscapes of William Dyce' in Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, 49. Towards the end of his life Dyce came to admire the Welsh mountains above other landscapes, although it is not known for certain that he set a biblical scene within this particular landscape.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 426.

⁸⁹ Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910", 179. Drummond, *Archaeologica Scotica: Sculptured Monuments in Iona and the West Highlands* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1881).

⁹⁰ Pointon, *William Dyce, 1806-1864: A Critical Biography*, 162.

Scottish Highlands, and shown holding a staff and carrying his harp.⁹¹ Dyce shows David tending to the sheep, a literal visual representation of David's role in the New Testament, but also symbolic of Dyce's view of the church and 'the Scripture representation of the Church itself as a flock of sheep.'⁹² The harp, associated with David, also had wider symbolism during the Victorian era, linked with Greek and Irish mythology, and most commonly represented as the contentious Heraldic national symbol of Ireland. The poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge had also written *The Eolian Harp* in 1796, a poem that features a harp that produces music when the breeze blows, symbolising the Romantic power of nature and the (musical) voice that responded.⁹³ The musical link of David and his harp would have also appealed to Dyce's passion in arranging and composing Latin music for the church found its analogy in art and he saw them as unified if not intertwined with one another.⁹⁴

Dyce's late easel paintings are the culmination of his personal religious beliefs and the synthesis of his style, formed by the time he spent in Rome and in Scotland. Dyce sought scientific knowledge by spending time examining the technicalities of paint layers and the formation of rock structures. Yet his later religious paintings do not seek to empirically replicate archaeological details of Christ's life, unlike his earlier Eastern-inspired religious landscapes. Instead, Dyce focused on realistic details by placing Christ and David in nature and communicating his 'deep faith.'⁹⁵ Dyce believed in adapting 'the inventions of ancient artists to the circumstances of our own times', and his vision of Christ in Scotland is a direct result of this. It is a personal vision related to Dyce's own identity as a Scotsman, his own religious convictions, and it is an appeal for a new type of Christian figurative art. The TA's introduction of fresco classes, at Dyce's suggestion, also gives further weight to the idea that Dyce was attempting to encourage a national art for Scotland which was symbolic of higher moral ideals.

⁹¹ Thomson in Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, 172, catalogue entry 48. She states that it is likely that the landscape was studied in Arran as Dyce visited in 1859, but did not visit Wales until the following year.

⁹² William Dyce, *A Letter to John Ruskin, Esq., M.A.* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851), 3. The biblical story refers to David's escape to the wilderness from King Saul. In the wild, David gathered support and became a symbol of hope for the oppressed (1 Samuel 18:1, 2 Samuel 1:25–26).

⁹³ Gary Weismann, "Coleridge, Dejection and Eolian Harps," *The Victorian Web*, 1990, <http://www.victorianweb.org/previctorian/stc/gw.html>.

⁹⁴ Pointon, *William Dyce, 1806-1864: a Critical Biography*, 73. It is also worth noting that these characteristics were inherent in the Nazarenes' work for King Ludwig I of Bavaria for the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (destroyed) between 1827-c.1838. See Willsdon, *Mural Painting in Britain, 1840-1940: Image and Meaning*, 45.

⁹⁵ Thomson in Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, 50. The author adds that 'Dyce used what was real to the viewer to support Christ's existence.'

David Scott and Scottish art

Like Dyce, David Scott sought to paint the ‘higher’ poetic or literary subjects in art. Scott was born in Edinburgh, and his father was an engraver who had studied at the TA. He enrolled at the TA with the intention of becoming his father’s apprentice.⁹⁶ Both David and his brother William attended the TA under the tenure of Andrew Wilson and William Allan, and drawings by William Scott indicate that he was making copies of figurative studies after John Graham (fig. 4.23).⁹⁷ David left the TA in 1825, although his interest in modelling the human form is made apparent by his part in the foundation of the Edinburgh Life Academy Association in 1827.⁹⁸ This enterprise was comprised of the alumni of the TA. As Scott’s early exhibited work was figurative, it can be surmised that access to a life class gave him the impetus needed to begin easel painting. A life class was not made available to TA students in the Royal Institution building until 1829, and it is evident that Scott’s peers were dependent on the Edinburgh Life Academy to further their education.⁹⁹

The Art Journal declared in 1859

To every figure painter the study of the nude subject is a matter of such importance as to render... any hope of even a modicum of success in his profession without such a course of practice.¹⁰⁰

His visit to London in 1828 indicated his taste for themes of ‘high’ art history and biblical themes, or those of heroism and romanticism. He singled out Francis Danby’s *Opening of the Sixth Seal*¹⁰¹ and amongst his other favoured modern artists were William Etty and Benjamin Haydon. Haydon’s *Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem* (fig 4.24) was ‘solidly painted, rich in colour, the drapery often noble, and the extremities well drawn.’¹⁰² By 1829 Scott had exhibited *Fingal and the Spirit of Lodi* (sic)¹⁰³, a scene from Ossian’s poems.¹⁰⁴ As Macmillan has noted, Scott was ‘carrying the mantle of Runciman’s historical ambitions’ as Alexander Runciman had treated the subject of *Fingal and the Spirit of Loda* in his

⁹⁶ 15th June 1824, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 35. William Scott is noted as an ‘apprentice to his father an Engraver’ as admitted. 19th June 1827, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 249.

⁹⁷ The extant drawings are held by the National Galleries of Scotland.

⁹⁸ William Bell Scott, *Memoir of David Scott R.S.A.*, 39. Campbell, *David Scott 1806-1849*, 6.

⁹⁹ The Edinburgh Life Academy Association ran until 1832. Bell Scott incorrectly attributes the end of entries in the cashbook to the beginning of the Royal Institution’s life class. Scott, *Memoir of David Scott R.S.A.*, 39.

¹⁰⁰ Anon, ‘The Study of the “Figure”’, *The Art Journal* (September, 1859), 277.

¹⁰¹ Francis Danby, *Opening of the Sixth Seal*, oil on canvas, 1825, 63.8cm x 77.3cm, Victoria Art Gallery, Bath.

¹⁰² Scott, *Memoir of David Scott, R.S.A.*, 42.

¹⁰³ Present whereabouts unknown.

¹⁰⁴ Intentionally or otherwise, The Club of True Highlanders exhibited Scott’s painting the same year as a festival for Ossian. Anon, ‘Festival in Honour of Ossian,’ *Caledonian Mercury*, 7 May 1829, issue 16802, no page number listed.

mural scheme for Penicuik House.¹⁰⁵ In direct emulation of Runciman's mural scheme Scott painted scenes from Ossian on his studio walls.¹⁰⁶ This was important for a number of reasons. Scott was renewing the validity of the poems in terms of national identity, but it also anticipated his use of fresco. Debra Wheatley has suggested that Scott's use of Ossian was not suggestive of Scottish national identity, but rather of 'English' (British) identity, by way of appreciation of artists that he felt expressed poeticism and his 'aesthetic ideal.'¹⁰⁷ Wheatley's thesis explores the connection of Scott's oeuvre to metaphysical thought, where 'concentration is on the human figure... the most elevated idea in his aesthetic hierarchy.'¹⁰⁸ In particular, she compares Scott's work closely with that of William Blake, in that Scott, like Blake before him, was interested in painting 'Imaginative Original Inventions', with the Idea serving as the primary goal and the narrative action expressed by simple linear form.¹⁰⁹ This was related in Scott's 'hierarchy of expression' or sentiment in his paintings

1st, Abstract or intellectual art - the epic and religious; 2d, Moral, or belonging to human passion - displayed in history and the drama; 3d, Material or physical - displayed in the expression of all qualities distinguishing the superficies of bodies.¹¹⁰

Scott also looked to the example of Runciman for his depictions of heroic male figures with defined musculature. His *Fingal and the Spirit of Loda* was admired by William Allan and Scott Lauder for its mastery of design, and it is telling that Scott chose to illustrate an event in the poem which highlighted the meeting of the material and spiritual world. The mortal, Fingal, was depicted with 'great muscular power' and planted to the ground, emphasising his earthly roots.¹¹¹ Scott included a 'silk scarf over the shield of naked Fingal...' ¹¹², suggesting that he removed all design elements believed to be distracting to the 'expression of the Idea', yet also indicating that exposure of the male nude in the late 1820s/early 1830s was risqué.¹¹³

¹⁰⁵ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 205-206.

¹⁰⁶ Howard Gaskill (ed.), *The Reception of Ossian in Europe* (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), 403.

¹⁰⁷ Wheatley, "The Metaphysical Works of David Scott, RSA: 'The Scottish Blake' and His Symbolist Tendencies", 82. Wheatley cites the examples of James Barry, William Blake, Henry Fuseli, John Flaxman and Runciman.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 10.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 18-19.

¹¹⁰ Scott, *Memoir of David Scott, R.S.A.*, 235. Also see Wheatley, "The Metaphysical Works of David Scott, RSA: 'The Scottish Blake' and His Symbolist Tendencies", 109.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 121.

¹¹² William Bell Scott, *Memoir of David Scott*, 43 and 46.

¹¹³ Wheatley, "The Metaphysical Works of David Scott, RSA: 'The Scottish Blake' and His Symbolist Tendencies", 122. Wheatley also suggests that Scott did not go on to illustrate the poems of Ossian because he could not source the connection between 'imagination and spirituality.' Ibid, 242.

Scott's use of nude or partially draped figures can also be attributed to his admiration of William Etty's paintings. Etty was best known for his history paintings and as 'the only master of the English school who has made flesh-painting his especial study'¹¹⁴, showing the influence of the Venetian School. Alison Smith has termed Etty's nudes as 'Anglo-Venetian',¹¹⁵ rather than of the alternative stylistic revival of the neoclassical nude of the eighteenth century.¹¹⁶ Given the lack of precedent for the use of the nude in Scottish nineteenth-century art, the RSA's acquisitions of Etty's paintings in 1829 and 1830 and 1831 were highly significant. It is also worth pointing out that the first of Etty's paintings was purchased in the same year that TA students gained access to the life class of the Royal Institution, perhaps indicating that the paintings were intended to further enhance students' pedagogical understanding of the human form. *Judith and Holofernes* was purchased in 1829, with the subsequent commission of *Judith Coming out of the Tent* and *Judith's Maid outside the Tent of Holofernes* (fig 4.25) in 1830 and 1831.¹¹⁷ Etty offered six other works to be exhibited with the *Judith and Holofernes* paintings; from the six offered, the RSA purchased *The Combat* (fig 4.26) and the *Benaiah*.¹¹⁸ The paintings were hung in the Great Room of the Royal Institution building, under the management of the TA. Scott was on the RSA committee that discussed the acquisition of Etty's paintings,¹¹⁹ and he was inspired by the paintings, making sketches and an oil copy of *The Combat* (fig 4.27). Etty's male nudes were celebrated as conforming to the academic ideals in promoting history painting and heroic subjects.¹²⁰ In particular, as Wheatley has shown, Etty's *The Combat* would have appealed to Scott for its inventive and original subject – 'poetic' history painting – heroic form, grand scale and use of colour.¹²¹ *The Combat* was praised by critics for fulfilling traditional gender roles in history painting – the female an 'honour to her sex' – and it showed the influence of the Old Masters and the inspiration of

¹¹⁴ Anon., 'William Etty', *Temple bar: A London Magazine for Town and Country Readers*, February 1879, 233.

¹¹⁵ Smith, *Exposed*, 14-16.

¹¹⁶ In comparison with the Continent, Alison Smith has stated that the nude was not an established subject for painting in Britain. She attributes this to a number of factors, including the later foundation of regional art schools and the lack of a tradition in history painting that used nude or partially draped figures. Moreover, she suggests that there was market pressure to pre-existing painterly trends. Perhaps most significantly, in Judeo-Christian terms, the nude was not considered a respectable subject for artists. Smith, *The Victorian Nude*, 13-14.

¹¹⁷ At present, the triptych is rolled and in storage as it has badly deteriorated over time. Held by the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.

¹¹⁸ William Etty, *Benaiah*, oil on canvas, c.1829, 255cm x 341cm, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.

¹¹⁹ Scott, *Memoir of David Scott, R.S.A.*, 51.

¹²⁰ Sarah Burnage, 'Painting the Nude and 'Inflicting Divine Vengeance on the Wicked' from Sarah Burnage, Mark Hallett and Laura Turner (eds.), *William Etty: Art & Controversy* (London and York: Philip Wilson Publishers and York Museums Trust, 2011), 33.

¹²¹ Wheatley, "The Metaphysical Works of David Scott, RSA: 'The Scottish Blake' and His Symbolist Tendencies", 18.

the Elgin Marbles.¹²² Etty's paintings were indeed representative of art for a new age, often painted without commission and largely supported by the *nouveaux riches* in their attempt to create a class identity as distinguished from the gentry and the proletariat;¹²³ industrial tycoons and affluent businessmen made up the largest percentage of Etty's buyers. Etty's example of history painting and his use of the nude where 'the figures... are quite as large as the life',¹²⁴ together with the TA's availability of casts and the newly formed Royal Institution life class, would have further prompted Scott to create and promote a new type of history painting in Scotland.

Moreover, in the same vein, Scott's engagement with contemporary history themes (fig 4.28) was derived from other grand Romantic history painters, particularly through the influence of Delacroix and Géricault. He would have seen the work of the artists in the Louvre in 1828, or perhaps on his travels through the Continent in the 1830s. In his praise of Jacques-Louis David's paintings, he noted that the 'painters of France present the national character completely in their works.'¹²⁵ Additionally, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were great patrons of British art and were known for championing the subject of the nude in art.¹²⁶ In preparation for painting the Queen's Robing Rooms in Westminster,¹²⁷ the Royal couple had commissioned Dyce to paint the fresco of *Neptune resigning to Britannia the Empire of the Seas* (fig 4.29).¹²⁸ Scott's combination of neoclassical figure types, history painting and poetic themes also owes, however, to the other romantic and neoclassical traditions of the Scots, via Gavin Hamilton, David Allan and Runciman. Scott's *The Dead Sarpedon, Borne by Sleep and Death* from Homer's *The Iliad* (fig 4.30) of 1831 was a theme explored by Hamilton and Allan. It is an evocation of the poetic sources used by artists in the eighteenth century; the subject of Homer's poems also had an enduring appeal for Scott, which Wheatley suggests was due to 'man's relationship with his gods.'¹²⁹

¹²² Burnage in Burnage et al, *William Etty*, catalogue entry 2, 112.

¹²³ Smith, *The Victorian Nude*, 68-70. *The British as art collectors: from the Tudors to the present*, by James Stourton and Charles Sebag-Montefiore (London: Scala Publishers, 2012), 181.

¹²⁴ Anon, 'Royal Academy's Exhibition', *The Times*, 11 May 1829, issue 13911, 3.

¹²⁵ Scott, *Memoir of David Scott, R.S.A.*, 59.

¹²⁶ Jonathan Marsden (ed.), *Victoria & Albert: Art & Love* (London: Royal Collection Publications, 2010), 34.

¹²⁷ Willson, *Mural Painting in Britain 1840-1940: Image and Meaning*, 47-50.

¹²⁸ Pointon, *William Dyce, 1806-1864: a Critical Biography*, 94. Prince Albert thought the figures 'rather nude.' C.H. Cope, *Reminiscences of Charles West Cope R.A.* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1891), 167. For a discussion of the Dyce's technique and of the conservation of the fresco, see Caroline Babington, 'Neptune Resigning the Empire of the Seas to Britannia' in Babington et al, *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, 54-59

¹²⁹ Wheatley, "The Metaphysical Works of David Scott, RSA: 'The Scottish Blake' and His Symbolist Tendencies", 243. Wheatley elaborates further by stating that 'intrinsic to Scott's intention to express universal metaphysical aspects of man is the Idea of man's relation to the Infinite.'

It is also worth highlighting Scott's aesthetic and empirical links with sculpture, life modelling and anatomy. The torso of *The Dead Sarpedon* directly utilises the torso from the *Laocoön* group (fig 4.31) as its model, held in the TA's cast collection and it was a motif that Scott was to reuse in his other pictures. On his travels in Rome, Scott became acquainted with Thorvaldsen and the Scottish sculptors Patric Park, A.H. Ritchie and the Welsh sculptor John Gibson.¹³⁰ Both Scott and his close friend John Steell were working industriously from life and from sculpture, as shown by a petition to the Board of Manufactures from 'David Scott and five other Artists, praying, that they may be allowed to attend in the morning to draw from the casts during the vacation of the Drawing Academy.'¹³¹ It is fitting that Steell's diploma piece for the Scottish Academy was a bust of David Scott. Moreover, Steell must have relayed the conversations of the Edinburgh Phrenological Society to Scott as he made his own phrenological and physiognomic observations. Scott wrote that

Big square-headed men are those who care most for their own interests, which are generally of a selfish kind: when endowed intellectually, they are the great men in politics or other spheres of exertion which combine action and reflection. Men of smaller, or of prominent and sloping foreheads, have more passion and impulse: they are usually the subjects of a principle or of a passion.¹³²

Scott's tendency toward observation was itself observed during an RSA meeting in which he judged his colleagues by 'body characterisations and limitations of intellect.'¹³³ His empirical interest in the human body was further developed by his attendance at Dr. Munro's¹³⁴ anatomy class during the 1830s, and the artist also pursued this line of study in Rome. He attended the Hospital of the Incurabili and of the Giacomo where he made anatomical sketches (fig 4.32).¹³⁵ Yet Scott's pursuit of empirical methods seem to conflict with his Platonic philosophical emphasis of the Idea.¹³⁶ Wheatley suggests that Scott's depiction of form was significant only when it symbolised 'materiality' in man.¹³⁷ Scott referred to his own visual types of 'mankind' in terms of 'historical appearances', which he

¹³⁰ Scott, *Memoir of David Scott, R.S.A.* For example, of mention of Gibson and Thorvaldsen, see 97 and 99.

¹³¹ 8 June 1830, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/36 (NAS), 63.

¹³² Scott, *Memoir of David Scott, R.S.A.*, 245.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹³⁴ Alexander Monro (1773-1859) of Edinburgh Medical College.

¹³⁵ Scott, *Memoir of David Scott, R.S.A.*, 120. 'Commence a series of anatomical drawings in the Hospital of the Incurabili. The body of an old naked woman lying in the court altogether naked; worn away to mere bones she has been...'

¹³⁶ Wheatley, "The Metaphysical Works of David Scott, RSA: 'The Scottish Blake' and His Symbolist Tendencies", 97-98. Wheatley discusses Platonism and Neo-Platonism in detail with reference to Scott's theories. Without meaning to simplify her complex discussion, she suggests that Scott's 'Platonic' and 'Neo-Platonic' concepts are determined by 'the Idea, Imagination and Intellect.' Scott's awareness of Platonic thought is further detailed through references in his published writing, and in his private memoirs where he discusses Vasari and Michelangelo, both linked to Neo-Platonism.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 98.

described as ‘purified realism.’¹³⁸ Here Scott refers to a figurative type that may embody grander designs in terms of abstract ideas, yet it is *realistic* and references art historical types. While Wheatley’s interpretation of Scott’s theories is sound, she does not consider Scott’s engagement with the subcategories of sciences that had developed in Edinburgh during the 1820s, including phrenology. Although Scott’s aesthetic ideas were unusual within his artistic circles of the period, it is also evident that his stylistic development was informed by his humanist education through the TA and Scottish artistic circles.

The development of Scott’s artistic theories

Scott departed for his Grand Tour in 1832, via London, Paris and Geneva, reaching Italy and visiting the towns he considered significant to his artistic education, including Milan, Bologna, Parma, Venice, Florence, Siena and Rome. He travelled and met with other Scottish students in Italy including Dyce, Heath Wilson and Scott Lauder. His diary synthesized the strengths and weaknesses that he perceived in the Old Masters, and he particularly favoured the work of Michelangelo while in Florence and Rome. Scott began work on two major pictures during the 1830s: *Sappho and Anacreon* (fig 4.33) and the ambitious *The Agony of Discord or the Household Gods Destroyed* (fig 4.34). The fulfilment of his intended allegorical theme with his methods of painterly execution was to preoccupy him for the remainder of the 1830s. As in Edinburgh, Scott was drawn to the central writhing figure of the *Laocoön* and used it to model the central figure in *The Agony of Discord*. As we have seen, Scott used the bust of the *Laocoön* for his painting of *The Dead Sarpedon* and he later revisited the motif in his *Philoctetes Left in the Isle of Lemnos by the Greeks in their Passage Towards Troy* (fig 4.35). While working on *The Agony of Discord*, he visited the Vatican Museum where he admired the *Apollo* and the *Elgin Marbles*, although he described the *Laocoön* as ‘the only music I have ever heard.’¹³⁹ The analogy of music and the arts reminds us of Ossian and his harp repeated in a cyclical manner in Runciman’s mural scheme, and of Dyce’s ideological coupling of painting with church music. Given Scott’s links with English and French Romanticism, philosophies related to the unity of the arts were prevalent in his work and, for Scott, the *Laocoön* was representative of the Romantic Sublime. This also correlates with his observations of the Old Masters, as he believed that they had essential characteristics that were inherent to the Idea. His diary provides some further insight on this

The modern French school has often lost itself in an overminute imitation in ornament and costume. The figures of these artists lose their expression, and become models of

¹³⁸ Ibid, 98.

¹³⁹ Ibid, 122, 151.

dress, and imitations of bits of the naked – the whole figure not retaining one idea or sentiment. Every object has one expression, which is dependent on a general combination of its parts... Always paint to the idea, not to the comparative or accidental.¹⁴⁰

The Venetian school was defined by its use of rich colour, but Scott believed that this was part of the essential character rather than being a disparate quality.¹⁴¹ He attempted to combine his study of the antique, life and anatomy with ‘abstract greatness’, or the essential human disposition, and in relation to the human form he stated that ‘We can easily refer to the feeling produced in us by it to certain properties, but the reason of this feeling is beyond the understanding.’¹⁴² Scott’s execution of figures reminiscent of Runciman, and like Blake’s colossal and heroic efforts,¹⁴³ led critics to term his nudes ‘extra-human’, and while acknowledging that Scott was a man of genius, his ambitious subjects were considered flawed in design and execution.¹⁴⁴ Of *The Agony of Discord* (fig 4.34), *The Art-Union* stated that it was ‘a large and powerful, but by no means pleasing picture... there is a want of clear making out of the story... some of the attitudes are so improbable.’¹⁴⁵

Scott was synthesising the lessons of the Old Masters in Italy, although it is clear that he was influenced stylistically and thematically by the lessons of the Nazarenes. He first met Overbeck in January of 1833 in Rome where he stated that his work had ‘...a natural truth; he is very religious – thinks only of art in connection with religious sentiment...’¹⁴⁶. Towards the end of his stay in Rome, Scott had in turn expressed his enthusiasm for the Nazarenes. He reported that he had visited the ‘Garden-House, where are the frescoes of the Germans.’ He refers to Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld’s frescos here as ‘very authentic works – very poetic they are, but still they are very real’ and Overbeck’s frescos were

¹⁴⁰ Scott, *Memoirs of David Scott, R.S.A.*, 117.

¹⁴¹ David Scott, ‘On Titian and Venetian Painting’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh magazine*, January 1840, 89. David Scott, ‘On the Peculiarities of Thought and Style in the Picture of the Last Judgment, by Michael Angelo’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh magazine*, February 1839, 259. Scott saw characteristics of an artist as essential to the Idea (e.g. ‘the moral beauty of Raphael, the outwardness... of Vecelli’). See Scott, ‘On Leonardo Da Vinci and Coreggio’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh magazine*, August 1840, 270.

¹⁴² Scott, *Memoirs of David Scott R.S.A.*, 292.

¹⁴³ Willson, *Mural Painting in Britain, 1840-1940: Image and Meaning*, 27, where she notes Blake’s wish to paint ‘figures... one hundred feet in height’ from M. Butlin, *William Blake* (London: Tate Gallery, 1978), 104.

¹⁴⁴ Anon, ‘Thirteenth Exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy’, *The Scotsman*, 27 February 1839, 3.

¹⁴⁵ Anon, ‘Royal Scottish Academy’, *The Art-Union*, March 1840, 2:14, 41. An article in Blackwood’s Edinburgh magazine in 1881 reiterated the point: ‘The efforts of these men [Scott and Benjamin Haydon] indicate a struggle after imagination rather than its possession.’ See anon., ‘David Scott, R.S.A.’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, November 1881, 130:793, 589.

¹⁴⁶ Scott, *Memoir of David Scott R.S.A.*, 111.

‘beautiful.’¹⁴⁷ However, Scott also criticised the work of Cornelius and Overbeck, stating that they were limited to stylistic imitation without original thought or design.¹⁴⁸ It is clear that Scott nonetheless admired the Nazarenes and the devotion to higher, spiritual symbolism.

We know that Scott first showed an interest in the decorative and thematic possibilities of fresco through the decoration of his Edinburgh studio walls with scenes from Ossian. In Rome he was preoccupied with his observations of fresco painters, and in particular, he favoured Michelangelo and Raphael and closely studied the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.¹⁴⁹ It is likely that Scott’s interest also owes to William Blake as he termed his watercolours “‘frescos” on paper.’¹⁵⁰ He began to paint in fresco again in Rome, working on his studio walls; during his stay, he also visited an unnamed German fresco painter who worked with ‘encaustic; wax being used in the medium.’¹⁵¹ Scott began painting a picture he called *The Vintager* (fig 4.36) in which the influence of the Nazarenes coincides with his interest in fresco painting. Of all of Scott’s paintings it is one of his most easily accessible, although its subject was uncharacteristic for him. The subject, as Mungo Campbell has noted, was drawn from the ripening of the vineyards, and Scott himself observed:

The vintage is advanced: the vines are browned in the leaves, red, or deep crimson... against the strong green of the cropped willows or olives: ...in dim bluish purple clumps, the grapes are suspended.¹⁵²

Although Scott painted a naturalist subject, he was more interested in the aesthetic effect and decorative potential of the painting. He worked simultaneously on *The Agony of Dischord*, fresco painting, and from the model, showing that *The Vintager* is a culmination of his artistic experiences in Rome.¹⁵³ Scott painted on canvas in the manner of fresco paintings, and the flatness and patterning of the painting owe to the stylistic example of the

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 160-161. The ‘garden-house’ was a pavilion near St. John Lateran in Rome, owned by Prince Francesco Massimo of the Roman family of the same name.

¹⁴⁸ Wheatley, “The Metaphysical Works of David Scott, RSA: ‘The Scottish Blake’ and His Symbolist Tendencies”, 104. Wheatley adds that Scott’s interest in the Nazarenes was short-lived for this reason.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 102-103, 122, 123, 140. ‘Raphael is the best painter in fresco, except, perhaps, Buonarrotti, as seen in the Prophets.’ Although Scott’s admiration of High Renaissance artists and the Nazarenes appears to be a contradiction, the Nazarenes sought earlier sources while they admired Raphael and Michelangelo. See Vaughan, *German Romantic Painting*, 178. ‘It was the more muscular and vigorous side of Italian Renaissance art that Cornelius admired. In contrast to Overbeck, he was always critical of Raphael, preferring instead the monumental schemes of Michelangelo, Signorelli and Mantegna.’

¹⁵⁰ Wheatley, “The Metaphysical Works of David Scott, RSA: ‘The Scottish Blake’ and His Symbolist Tendencies”, 84.

¹⁵¹ Scott, *Memoir of David Scott R.S.A.*, 114 and 161. Scott refers to the act of blotting out his frescos on his departure from Rome. Also see Campbell, *David Scott, 1806-1849*, 10-11.

¹⁵² Campbell, *David Scott, 1806-1849*, 10.

¹⁵³ Scott, *Memoir of David Scott, R.S.A.*, 125, 134-135. The model that posed for *The Vintager* was referred to as ‘The Fornarina.’

Nazarenes. He had indeed favoured a model in Rome due to the ‘*sharp flatness* of the insertion of his muscles’¹⁵⁴, related to his ideal physical type. From his experiences and observations of fresco in Rome, Scott had hoped to transfer his experience of fresco painting to Scotland. In particular, his former master, Andrew Wilson, had suggested to him that he should paint a copy of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Royal Institution building although nothing was to come of this proposal.¹⁵⁵

After his return to Edinburgh in 1834, Scott painted scenes from Scottish history, as well as ‘poetic’ themes from Shakespeare and Milton, including *Ariel and Caliban* (fig 4.37) and *The Belated Peasant (from Milton’s Paradise Lost)* (fig 4.38), both of which engage with fantastical themes and feature fairies as part of the composition. Fairy painting was rooted in German Romanticism, although in the 1830s and 1840s there was a British nationwide movement in fairy painting that aspired to Continental examples.¹⁵⁶ Although British Romantic artists such as Henry Fuseli had engaged with the theme of fairies in their work, it had become a particular preoccupation of Scottish artists in the first half of the Victorian period. Dyce had painted *Puck* from Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* in 1829 and it is likely that Scott either saw or discussed the painting with Dyce, given the friendship between the men.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, Sara Stevenson has discussed Hill’s inclusion of fairies in his *The Poet’s Dream* (fig 4.39), the frontispiece to the second volume of *The Land of Burns*. In Hill’s work, ‘spunkies and worricows have replaced nymphs and dryads’ and Stevenson attributes this to the writing of Sir Walter Scott who claimed ‘fairies as the invention of the Celts...’¹⁵⁸. That the Scots associated – even appropriated – fairies within Celtic lore meant that they became symbolic of a type of national painting tied to the culture as ‘historicised spirits of the land.’¹⁵⁹ The potency of Hill’s *The Poet’s Dream* was explicitly nationalistic, as Murdo Macdonald has recently pointed out, emphasised by the use of the Ossianic figure of the bard overseeing the poet’s

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 107, 109, 121. Scott worked from a number of models in Rome, amongst them Rosa, Fornarina, Leacci, Angelica and others, including a boy who posed for *The Household Gods Destroyed*. Scott’s temperamental nature meant that he often adopted an ambivalent and derisive attitude towards them: ‘the models are the best to be had... but even these are often no great things’ and ‘at the Academy, painting from that important and privileged person the model.’

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, 112-113. Scott wrote ‘I have myself often thought, as they have the Transfiguration, they should have the Last Judgment.’

¹⁵⁶ Julian Treuherz, ‘A Brief Survey of Victorian Painting’ in Valentine, *Art in the Age of Queen Victoria*, 15. Also see Jane Martineau (ed.), *Victorian Fairy Painting* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1997), 66.

¹⁵⁷ William Dyce, *Puck*, 1829, oil?, 122cm x 96.9cm, whereabouts unknown. Scott later painted *Puck (Puck Fleeing from the Dawn)*, 1837, oil on canvas, 95.3cm x 146cm, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh).

¹⁵⁸ Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 145-146. Stevenson cites Scott’s essay ‘The Fairies of Popular Superstition’ in Walter Scott’s *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1801-2).

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

vision.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, given Scott's association with Dyce and Hill, it is likely that Scott painted fairy subjects for their poetic and fantastic subjects, offering the potential for original design. Of Scott's *Oberon and Puck listening to the Mermaid's Song*, the *Caledonian Mercury* stated that it was a 'picture so full of poetry... and so replete with natural sentiment.'¹⁶¹ Scott would also have been aware of the emergence of the fairy subject within his artistic circles, and therefore would have known of the Celtic ties to fairies, despite painting the mythical beings within a Shakespearean context.

Almost a decade later, Scott and Hill's legacy of Shakespeare and fairy subjects continued in the paintings of the Scottish artist Joseph Noel Paton (1821-1901). Paton, who contributed to the management of the RSA and of the Trustees' School of Art, exhibited *The Reconciliation of Oberon and Titania* (fig 4.40) at the RSA in 1847. Its companion, *The Quarrel of Oberon and Titania* (fig 4.41) was exhibited at the RSA 1850, and the pair established him as one of the dominant painters of fairy subjects in the mid-Victorian period. Paton's paintings are remarkable in the use of the classical male and female nude, made more acceptable due to Scott's exhibition of partially swathed nudes.¹⁶² Moreover, Scott had called on Paton's father Joseph Noel Paton in Rome, suggesting that the younger Paton would have had some knowledge of Scott's paintings.¹⁶³ Paton was from Dunfermline where it was said:

There are few places better calculated to foster the growth of poetry and romance than this "city set upon a hill" on the north side of the Firth of Forth, where, from her wooded eminence, she looks at her fairer sister – "stately Edinburgh throned on crags" ...¹⁶⁴

Paton's artistic identity was bound with his native land, and given his belief in being a 'seeker after truth', it is likely that the landscape of *The Reconciliation of Oberon and Titania* and its companion were based on the 'wooded eminence' of Dunfermline.¹⁶⁵ As Scott revived the Ossian murals and neoclassical forms of Runciman before him, so too did Paton revive the partially draped neoclassical form, referencing Celtic themes within a Scottish landscape.

¹⁶⁰ Macdonald, 'Envisioning Burns' in Cullen and Morrison, *A Shared Legacy: Essays on Irish and Scottish Art and Visual Culture*, 68.

¹⁶¹ Anon, "Exhibition of Pictures by the Scottish Academy." The present whereabouts of Scott's painting is unknown.

¹⁶² Smith, *Exposed*, catalogue entry 8. The Shakespearean narrative and Paton's careful use of drapery helped avoid accusations of impropriety.

¹⁶³ Scott, *Memoir of David Scott, R.S.A.*, 120.

¹⁶⁴ Anon, "Sir Noel Paton. -IV. Early Life and Struggles," *The Art Journal* (April 1895), 116.

¹⁶⁵ Alfred Thomas Story, *The Life and Work of Sir Joseph Noel Paton* (London: The Art Journal Office, 1895), 21. Paton's father joined the Presbyterian Church, then became a Methodist and a Quaker before turning to Swedenborgianism, which influenced his son's choice of subject and attention to 'truth.'

This chapter sought to demonstrate that Dyce and Scott are not as far removed from the Scottish canon of art history as previously suggested. It has been shown that Dyce and Scott sought greater philosophical and moral integrity in their oeuvres, and this distinguishes them from their Scottish artistic colleagues. However, Dyce and Scott's artistic objectives – in essence, to create a new art for a new age – can be seen, in part, as reactions to or continuations of Scottish artistic lineage. Dyce experimented with the Scottish genre framework and synthesised elements of it; as we have seen, it may be possible that Dyce was also synthesising and responding to Wilkie's Protestant paintings. That Dyce sought to inspire material truth in a new age of artists was indicated by his introduction, via the Board of Manufactures, of mural painting at the TA in an effort to promote a national style of painting through fresco. Scott also sought to create a new type of painting, although this was not as divorced from his national heritage as previously thought. He resurrected Ossian themes, and by the 1840s, his fresco design for the Houses of Parliament competitions included the Scottish history subject of William Wallace; the Ossianic harp featured prominently in the depiction of the Scottish warriors (fig 4.42).¹⁶⁶

Both men were naturalist artists, although it is perhaps more fitting to suggest that they aspired to Thomson's definition of naturalism as responding to the 'natural sciences' and 'exactitude' yet it represented 'virtue... and moral truth...'.¹⁶⁷ Dyce and Scott engaged with empirical naturalism in the quest for scientific exactitude, yet the naturalist style was evolving to encompass higher values too. Both artists benefitted from Scottish humanist education, developed in Edinburgh yet Continental movements decisively influenced both men, particularly the Nazarenes. In turn, this raises questions about Dyce and Scott's legacies. As the TA master of the 50s was Robert Scott Lauder, a peer and friend to both men, the next chapter will consider the extent to which naturalism continued in the work of TA students in the second half of the nineteenth century.

¹⁶⁶ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, 206. See Scott's *British, French and German Painting* pamphlet (1841) where he discusses fresco. It is evident that Scott was touting himself as a suitable candidate for the Houses of Parliament competitions, for which he was unsuccessful. Campbell, *David Scott, 1806-1849*, 15.

¹⁶⁷ Thomson, *Art of the Actual: Naturalism and Style in Early Third Republic France, 1880-1900*.

Chapter 5: The Scott Lauder years and the rebirth of naturalism

The 1850s marked a golden period of teaching for the TA under the tenure of the Scottish artist Robert Scott Lauder;¹ his influence over the class of 1852-1858 was profound. The notable artists to emerge from Lauder's term have often been discussed in terms of their use of 'beautiful colour' and freer handling of brushwork, which have been recognised as the unifying characteristics of the group.² Although Lauder's approach in the Antique and Life Academies has been the focus of a case study by Errington³, his tenure has not been fully examined in relation to the TA's pedagogical development of the figure and naturalist approaches. This chapter seeks to question how far Lauder's methods sought to explore 'truth to nature' in relation to the rendering of the human form in the Antique and Life Academies. Nor has Victorian photography been fully considered in relation to the classroom approaches practiced by the TA. While the work of the artist and photographer D.O. Hill has been the source of many excellent discussions by Sara Stevenson⁴, his photographic influence on the students of Lauder has not been considered.

Hill held prominent roles within the RSA and the TA. He was RSA Secretary from 1830 and he became a member of the Board of Manufactures in 1855. It is evident that he exerted considerable influence on these Edinburgh institutions and in these artistic circles.⁵ Moreover, his photographic collaboration with Robert Adamson was rooted in scientific principles; together they nonetheless adapted the medium to create a distinctive 'artistic'

¹ Lauder taught for the TA until 1858, and then for the Trustees' School of Art until 1861.

² Edward Pinnington, "Robert Scott Lauder, R.S.A., and His Pupils," *The Art Journal*, December 1898, 371. Hardie, *Scottish Painting: 1837 to the Present*, 48. The notable Lauder students are generally identified as: William Quiller Orchardson, George Paul Chalmers, William McTaggart, John Pettie, Hugh Cameron, Robert Herdman, Peter Graham, John Burr and John MacWhirter. Late nineteenth/early twentieth-century scholars began to identify the more prominent artists that had studied under Lauder. These artists are identified as those listed above, and the notion of a 'group' comes from the friendships formed between the artists, as some of them lived together. Moreover, some of the artists often sketched together, forming a sketching club in 1856 in the Waverley Temperance Hotel (or one another's rooms). Amongst the group, Orchardson was revered as the senior figure as he entered the TA earlier than the rest in 1845. See in particular: Martin Hardie, 'John Pettie, R.A., H.R.S.A.', *The Art Journal*, April 1907, 100 and Walter Armstrong, *The Art of William Quiller Orchardson* (London: Seeley and Co Ltd, 1895), 12. See Walker, 'John Pettie, R.A.' *Good Words*, November 1893, 750. Also see W. Matthews Gilbert, 'The Late John Pettie, R.A., H.R.S.A.', *The Art Journal*, July 1893, 207.

³ See Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*.

⁴ Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, is Stevenson's primary text on Hill, although she has published numerous articles and other books on the photography of Hill and Adamson (and in relation to other nineteenth-century Scottish photographers and photography).

⁵ Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*, 30. Errington has shown that Hill and Joseph Noel Paton, prior to Lauder's appointment, had discussed Lauder as a candidate for the post of Master of the Antique and Life Academies. This was before the role had been created, and recommendations for suitable candidates had not yet been decided.

style of photography that was entirely new in Edinburgh (and in the wider artistic community). The calotypes taken with Adamson were widely exhibited, and Hill also started a photographic library in the RSA.⁶ He would have been well aware of the changes Lauder implemented in the Antique and Life Academies in his capacity as a member of the Board; he also managed the expenses for the TA life room.⁷ Artists of the period were receptive to the advantages of photography, and as we have seen, it is likely that Hill's contemporary William Dyce used photographs as an aid to the painting process. He certainly corresponded with Hill on the subject of photography.⁸ It is also possible that Lauder's students' understanding of light and shade and, by extension, colour, was influenced by photography.

Although Lauder's students have been grouped in terms of colour and technique, they are not unified in terms of subject matter.⁹ In particular, this chapter will examine the work of Lauder's pupil, William McTaggart, in relation to his 'genre' subjects. McTaggart was associated with his classmates George Paul Chalmers (1833-1878) and Hugh Cameron (1835-1918) as these artists were preoccupied with themes that focused on rural figures painted in landscapes. McTaggart had remained in Scotland while Orchardson, Pettie and other students of Lauder's moved to London. He often worked in his native Argyllshire where he painted fishing communities. Here, the precedent of Hill will be again explored in relation to McTaggart's subjects as Hill and Adamson had published *The Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth* in 1844, making calotypes from Newhaven fishermen and fishwives. This chapter begins by exploring Lauder's painterly heritage and technique, before moving on to discuss his methods in the Antique and Life Academies in closer detail. From here, it will focus on McTaggart's oeuvre, particularly in relation to his subjects and choice of models.

Robert Scott Lauder: Scottish traditions and Venetian colour

Similarly to his TA-educated contemporaries, Thomas Duncan and James Drummond, Lauder's earliest work continued in the footsteps of William Allan thematically and in his technique. Allan was the country's leading history painter,¹⁰ an influential TA master and future President of the RSA. Allan had taught his students, via Graham, that warm tones

⁶ Sara Stevenson, *Hill & Adamson's the Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1991), 46.

⁷ See for example, *Day Secretary's Book*, entries from 5 April 1855 to 5 April 1856, NG1/31/3 (NAS), signed by David Octavius Hill.

⁸ Willson, "Dyce 'in Camera': New Evidence of His Working Methods."

⁹ The subjects painted by Lauder's students include 'fancy' pieces, historical scenes, genre, and landscapes.

¹⁰ Anon, "Sir William Allan," *The Art Journal*, April 1849, 109.

should be contrasted with cool ones, and that the shadows should be painted in translucent brown and the highlights in white or cream.¹¹ In Lauder's *The Bride of Lammermuir* (fig 5.0), Allan's influence can be observed in the close arrangement of figures and in the 'bituminous shadows.'¹² Although Lauder followed Allan's thematic precedent, he was criticised for rendering period details inaccurately in his historical works.¹³ This suggests that, from the beginning of his career, Lauder, similarly, though not with the same zeal as David Scott, was more interested in the overall idea and the aesthetic possibilities of his paintings.

These interests were further explored during his sojourn to Italy from 1833-1838. There he was exposed to the work of the Venetian School, and his paintings from this period began to demonstrate the use of richer colours and showed a heightened sensitivity to surface and detail (fig 5.1). Lauder's attraction to the Venetian School was contemporaneous with its revival in Britain, sparked at the beginning of the century with the exhibition of Titian's *Diana and Actaeon* and *Diana and Callisto*, on view at Stafford House.¹⁴ His trip to Italy and his exploration of Venetian painting techniques and colour was part of a wider UK movement which attempted to discover the 'secrets' of the Venetian oil painting process.¹⁵ In English painting of the period, William Etty was considered to be the greatest colourist in the Venetian style. He stated: 'Rome is the place for a sculptor I think – Venice for a painter to see the power of colour and *Chiaroscuro* (sic) [my emphasis].'¹⁶ According to William Bell Scott, David Scott described the Venetian application of paint as 'the system of light and shade, or effect... the relief of a dark by a light...'¹⁷ Lauder was synthesising the Venetian system of contrasting tones, which later underlined his methods in the Antique and Life Academies.

The revival of oil painting processes was also reflected in the British debates related to the employment of fresco to be used in the decorating schemes for the Houses of Parliament

¹¹ Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*, 20.

¹² Errington, *Scotland's Pictures*, 51.

¹³ Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*, 22.

¹⁴ Titian, *Diana and Actaeon*, oil on canvas, 1556-59, 185cm x 202cm, National Gallery, London and Scottish National Gallery of Art, Edinburgh. Titian, *Diana and Callisto*, oil on canvas, 1556-59, 187cm x 204.5cm, National Gallery, London and the Scottish National Gallery of Art, Edinburgh. Smith (ed.), *Exposed: The Victorian Nude*, 14-15.

¹⁵ John Gage, *Colour and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), 213-214.

¹⁶ William Etty to Walter Etty, 'Rome, Saturday August 18 1822', York City Reference Library, quoted in Dennis Farr, *William Etty* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), 38.

¹⁷ William Bell Scott, "Venetian Painters," *The Art Journal*, February 1873, 59.

competitions in 1847.¹⁸ To the competitions, Lauder submitted *Christ Teacheth Humility* (fig 5.2) and was unsuccessful.¹⁹ Since his return to Britain, he had been working to establish himself as an artist by exhibiting at the RA, the RSA and the Royal Institution. In Scotland, Lauder's paintings were generally received well; in particular, the reviews of his exhibited paintings noted his sensitivity to colour. The *Caledonian Mercury* stated that in his painting of *Ruth*²⁰ 'the bust of the Moabitish damsel, and the accompanying drapery, both for disposition and colour, are almost all which could be desired'²¹, and in relation to *Hannah Presenting the Priest to her First-born*²² that 'its success chiefly depends' upon the colour.²³

In an act of support of Lauder's work, the Royal Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts purchased his unsuccessful entry for the House of Parliament competitions, *Christ Teacheth Humility*, for £400.²⁴ The painting was well admired in Edinburgh, and it secured Lauder's place as a man of the 'highest professional reputation.'²⁵ Prior to his appointment as master of the TA, Lauder had worked temporarily in William Allan's place in 1829, and he would have been receptive to the changes that had since been implemented.²⁶ Therefore, it was unsurprising that Lauder was proposed as the Director of Antique, Life and Colour Department of the TA in 1852, which commenced in April of that year.²⁷

Lauder and 'His boys'²⁸: Photography, Naturalism and the Antique Academy

Upon his appointment, Lauder moved quickly to make substantial changes to the Antique and Life Academies. In December of 1852, he told the Board of Manufactures that the casts in the Statue Gallery required larger castors, and that they were in need of cleaning 'being very unfavourable for study.' He wrote again in 1853, requesting that the Curator of

¹⁸ Gage, *Colour and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction*, 213-214.

¹⁹ Perhaps for this reason, Lauder withdrew his name from the RA Associateship list in 1848 and chose not to exhibit at the RA again.

²⁰ Present whereabouts unknown.

²¹ Anon, 'Royal Scottish Academy', *Caledonian Mercury*, 18 February 1843, issue 19202, no page number listed.

²² Present whereabouts unknown.

²³ Anon, "Exhibition of the Royal Academy," *Caledonian Mercury*, 16 March 1846, issue 19554, no page number listed.

²⁴ Anon, "Royal Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts in Scotland," *The Art-Union*, August 1848, 250.

²⁵ 19 January 1852, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/40 (NAS), 45.

²⁶ 24 November 1829, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/35 (NAS), 392. Lauder studied at the TA under Andrew Wilson at Picardy Place. It is possible he studied afterwards at St. Martin's Lane in London, and he certainly drew from the Elgin Marbles. Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*, 14.

²⁷ 16 February 1852 and 1 March 1852, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/40 (NAS), 60-64.

²⁸ Robert Walker, 'John Pettie, R.A.', *Good Words*, December 1893, 750.

the Statue Gallery, Mr Phillips, be granted assistance ‘and more cleaning utensils.’²⁹ At this early stage in his tenure, it is clear that Lauder was thinking creatively in relation to form; the cleaning process for the casts would have revealed nuances of tone, and the new castors allowed the statuary to be moved freely around the Statue Gallery. Lauder made further plans in 1855 when he liaised with the Board’s Secretary regarding the light in the Statue Gallery

‘Mr Lauder... having complained of the great inconvenience and prejudicial effect upon the work of Students experienced at this period of the year during the Evening Classes in the Statue Gallery, from the mixed light produced by daylight coming in through the Skylights upon the Gaslight, and having pointed out the necessity of having the Daylight quite excluded by means of obscuring blinds... on the same principle as those in the Life Room...’³⁰.

Two extant grouped studies of casts from the period of 1854-55 by Chalmers (fig 5.3) and McTaggart (fig 5.4),³¹ falling within the period that Lauder had the obscuring blinds fitted, reveal that he had initiated an entirely new way of teaching from the antique. The studies show that the cleaned statues were arranged into groups, which gave ‘the representations of sculpture a fine pictorial effect.’³² In a nod to the TA’s long history of collecting casts, particularly under the masters John Graham and Lauder’s master Andrew Wilson, Michelangelo’s *Pietà* cast fragment features prominently in both studies, as drawn by Lauder’s contemporaries in the 1820s (fig 5.5). The selection of different casts in each study also suggests that this method was employed more than once. By grouping statuary, Lauder created complex compositional arrangements and dramatic differences in light and shade, which he further manipulated through the use of obscuring blinds and by grouping statuary that created cast shadows.

The consideration of Lauder’s methods bear some relation to the extreme darks and lights and compositional arrangements found in Hill and Adamson’s photography. It is plausible that Lauder was influenced by photographic developments, given Hill’s prominent role in the development of Edinburgh art education. Lauder had also corresponded with Hill while he had been based in London during the 1840s. Here he indicates something of the debt owed to their master, Andrew Wilson:

²⁹ 13 December 1852 and 23 May 1853, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/40 (NAS), 105-106 and 142.

³⁰ 26 March 1855, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/40 (NAS), 332-333.

³¹ It should be noted that the National Galleries of Scotland holds other pencil studies of casts and designs made by McTaggart. Errington has suggested that these drawings may have been prepared for the annual TA’s prizegiving competitions. Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*, catalogue entry 36.

³² Anon, “School of Design,” *Caledonian Mercury*, 29 May 1854, issue 20401, no page number listed.

Many of the members of the RSA are much indebted to him [Wilson], and of course you recollect with how much kindness he came to our studios and helped us to overcome many difficulties...³³.

Unlike other artists that were part of Hill's Edinburgh circle, which included Allan, Duncan and David Scott, he did not photograph Lauder.³⁴ Presumably Lauder never sat for Hill and Adamson because he was based in London for the duration of their partnership, which lasted from 1843 to 1848. However, it is possible that Lauder saw Hill and Adamson's calotypes when they were exhibited in London and he certainly would have been aware of them on his return to Edinburgh.³⁵

Sara Stevenson and Roddy Simpson have shown that the beginnings of photography in Scotland started with Sir David Brewster through his friendship with the pioneer of the calotype process, William Henry Fox Talbot. Both authors have shown that this process was eagerly discussed and experimented with in Edinburgh circles³⁶; this led to the foundation of an Edinburgh-based Calotype Club in 1841, believed to be the first of its type in the world.³⁷ Brewster's colleague, Dr John Adamson succeeded with the calotype process in 1842 and taught it to his brother Robert, suggesting that he start up as a professional calotype photographer in Scotland. Brewster introduced Hill and Adamson (with Talbot present) in 1844 at the conference of the British Association for the

³³ Ibid, 12. Period accounts of Lauder's teaching style suggest that he gave no firm direction to his students. For example, Hugh Cameron detailed Lauder's reaction when he asked how he should draw an antique bust: "I don't care. Do it any mortal way you like, but get it done." Edward Pinnington, 'Hugh Cameron R.S.A.', *The Art Journal*, January 1902, 20. Lauder encouraged individuality in his students. It can be deduced that he was a supportive teacher (indicated by his account of Wilson) and that he gave firm direction to all of his students in the classroom.

³⁴ Although Hill did not photograph him, Lauder did paint Hill's portrait earlier in his career. Lauder, *David Octavius Hill*, 1829, oil on canvas, 77.5cm x 64.1cm, National Portrait Gallery, London. Hill and Lauder were also corresponding intermittently throughout the 1840s. See Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*, 22.

³⁵ Stevenson, *Hill & Adamson's the Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth*, 45. Hill and Adamson's calotypes were exhibited widely, at the RSA exhibitions in 1844, 1845 and 1846; the calotypes travelled to Fife, Paris, York, Liverpool and London over the following five years.

³⁶ Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 21-22. Simpson, *The Photography of Victorian Scotland*, 12-13 and 47. For example, the St Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society, of which Brewster and Dr John Adamson (brother of Robert Adamson) were members, liaised with the Royal Scottish Society of Arts, founded in Edinburgh in 1821 by Brewster.

³⁷ The calotype refers to a paper negative, not a glass or film negative. A sheet of paper was treated with silver nitrate and potassium iodine. Before taking a photograph, the paper was then coated with silver nitrate and gallic acid. It was loaded into the camera and exposed, usually for one minute. The exposed paper was treated in a darkened room with a solution of silver nitrate and gallic acid. This revealed the developed image. The paper was then coated with a 'fixing' solution once it had been determined that the image had developed enough. The paper negative would then be washed and dried. From the calotype negative, salt prints could be taken by treating paper with salt and silver nitrate. This paper was placed under the calotype negative and exposed to bright light. The image would develop on the salt print and it was then fixed with solution and washed and dried. The control over the length of the exposure and the development time of the paper negative meant that there was an element of artistic or creative skill in the process. Most photographers would also use pencil or ink to retouch the negatives.

Advancement of Science in York, and the men worked together shortly afterwards, setting up a studio in the grounds of York Museum.³⁸

Stevenson has discussed Hill and Adamson's use of light in their portrait calotypes, particularly with reference to their portrait of the sculptor Steell (fig 5.6), a contemporary of Lauder's:

One of the most impressive portraits... involves a reduction and loss of detail, which leaves his body as a dark, practically undefined shape, almost a silhouette.³⁹

Hill and Adamson's manipulation of light and focus was central to the arrangement of their compositions. The lenses in early photographic processes tended to be sharper in the centre, with the focus lessening at the outer edges of the plane. As a result, most photographers focused the centre of the lens on the sitter's face.⁴⁰ Compositionally, Hill (aided by Adamson's technical virtuosity) experimented with the positioning of figures and objects within the plane, often creating sharper elements in the foreground or centre of the composition as this allowed the edges to blur. An excellent example of Hill and Adamson's experimentations with technique can be seen in their calotype of the 92nd Gordon Highlands at Edinburgh Castle (fig 5.7) where the drum appears in sharp focus from the mottled haze of the foreground. Stevenson and Simpson have discussed Hill and Adamson's experiments with the effects of light and shade – technically *chiaroscuro* – in terms of the resemblance to Raeburn's portraits in the 'massing of light and shade'.⁴¹ This 'massing of light and shade' is tested to its extreme in Hill and Adamson's calotype of *Life Study – Dr George Bell* (fig 5.8), which borders on sculptural in its form; the detail of Bell's neck is indistinguishable in the concentration of strong light. The directed mass of bright light in this calotype may have been due to the use of the concave mirror inside of the camera that could have acted as a spotlight.⁴² In the Statue Gallery, Lauder had also experimented with optics, where the lights were 'adjusted with reflectors that had hinged wings so that some figures were in strong light, others in low light, and still others in darkness...'⁴³

³⁸ Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 23.

³⁹ Ibid, 42.

⁴⁰ Ibid; Simpson, *The Photography of Victorian Scotland*, 30-31.

⁴¹ Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 36-37; Simpson, *The Photography of Victorian Scotland*, 29.

⁴² Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 41-43.

⁴³ David Scruton, "William McTaggart: Landscape, Meaning and Technique" (PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 1991), 25. Originally cited in Hugh Cameron, "A Few Recollections of Student Days" in *The Cairn*, Edinburgh College of Art, no date.

Chalmers's and McTaggart's studies visually bear many similarities to Hill and Adamson's calotypes, from the extreme use of light and shade to the range of focus in relation to the casts positions in the foreground or background. The cast of *Illisus*, from the west pediment of the Parthenon, is tellingly pushed to the forefront of McTaggart's study – a nod to Lauder's love of the Elgin Marbles – and it is rendered in minute detail, comparable to the sharply focused drum at the forefront of Hill and Adamson's calotype (fig 5.7). As we have seen, the TA perceived the Elgin Marbles as 'truthful', realistic examples, which was a view reiterated at the annual distribution of prizes in 1854.⁴⁴ Revealingly, Hill and Adamson's calotypes were also believed to be 'true to nature', and they were considered 'so precious in every real artist's sight, not only for their own matches truth of Nature, but as the triumphant proof of all to be most revered as truth in art.'⁴⁵ The other statues included in McTaggart's study (fig 5.4) are rendered almost completely in chalk due to the strong use of light that presumably flooded into the Statue Gallery through the uncovered skylights. The effect of this is the suggestion of outline and mass, as similar to the results of Hill and Adamson's calotypes, rather than of shading or detail. Chalmers's discussion of how to train the eye in relation to light and shade was presumably learned from Lauder: 'the light falls first on the *chair* – then *on the shoulder* and *down the arm* – then on the *head...*'.⁴⁶

Perhaps most importantly, Hill and Adamson's calotypes would have presented the students with an opportunity to see living figures arranged in a group. It is unsurprising to find that Hill was enthusiastic about *tableaux vivants*; he staged them with his artist friends, including Drummond and Paton. As Stevenson has shown, *tableaux* enabled Hill to explore ways of grouping and posing figures, which he could later reuse in his calotypes.⁴⁷ Hill and Adamson's calotypes would have provided Lauder and his students with examples of static figurative groupings of real people, similar to the effect of *tableaux*

⁴⁴ Anon, "School of Design," *Caledonian Mercury*, 29 May 1854. In the same report, it was added that the Venus de Medici and the Belvedere Apollo did not feature as prominently in the students' designs because of the taste for the Elgin Marbles.

⁴⁵ Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 36.

⁴⁶ Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*, 28 and 33. On entering the Antique Academy, they were required to draw from casts in isolation, working in pencil and chalk with the 'stump' process which involved rubbing the tones, adding the darkest parts before the mid-tones and highlights. By this point in the TA's history, the pedagogical progress of students still began with 'outlines from the flat', 'outlines from the round' and 'shaded drawings', but now included 'outlines from Raphael', 'original designs', 'perspective', 'drawing from Antique', 'Drawing from Life Model', culminating in 'Painting from Life.'

⁴⁷ Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 85-88. Hill famously used the calotype process to capture the ministers and other members present at *The Signing of the Deed of Demission* in relation to the formation of the Free Church of Scotland as separate from the Church of Scotland. The painting, with the aid of calotypes, took over twenty-three years to finish. Hill, *The Signing of the Deed of Demission*, 1843-67, oil on canvas, Free Church of Scotland, Edinburgh.

vivants. It is possible to view Lauder's groupings of casts in the Statue Gallery within this context, in preparation for the students' progression to the Life Room.⁴⁸ Lauder angled the casts in different directions, as observed in Chalmers's study (fig 5.3) where *Diana of Gabies* was turned to face the *Laocoön* cast. This method of arranging the casts in groups referenced Scottish genre and history painting, and particularly the tradition established by David Allan, which had been continued by Wilkie and William Allan. Both genre and history painting were reliant on complex figurative groups in order to relay the narrative. Orchardson's *Wishart's Last Exhortation* (fig 5.9) was painted while he was still Lauder's student. It shows the influence of James Drummond's recent treatment of the subject in the arrangement of the figures, although it is ultimately indebted to Wilkie's painting of John Knox, as discussed in Chapter 4.⁴⁹ From an early stage, Lauder encouraged his students to 'begin and work upon a picture of some kind,'⁵⁰ presumably referring to an oil painting, anticipating the need to prepare them for multi-figural compositions. The students also made 'shaded drawings from Scottish history and ballads' of original composition, showing that Lauder's exercise in drawing from casts trained them in composition and tone.⁵¹

The Life Academy: Etty, realism and the female model

Lauder departed from standard art school practice by grouping casts in the Antique Academy, although there was a precedent for grouping life models in British art academies. In the RA, Etty and John Constable posed models together in their capacity as Visitors, as shown in Etty's study of *Two male models* (fig 5.10) from c.1816-22.⁵² In a continuation of the methods he had established in the Antique Academy, Lauder also posed life models together. This is evident in three life studies made by McTaggart (fig 5.11), Pettie (fig 5.12) and the last unattributed (fig 5.13), all painted from the same sitting. Despite the studies being dated to between c.1855 and 1858, further examination of the TA models' register suggests that the paintings were probably carried out between April and June of 1858 when Elizabeth McDonald and Margaret Campbell consistently posed

⁴⁸ Lauder did not arrange the casts in emulation of a painting, although the principle of arranging static figures within one space was similar to the groups of casts. For a brief discussion of *tableaux vivants*, see Bignamini and Postle, *The Artist's Model: Its Role in British Art from Lely to Etty*, catalogue entry 35.

⁴⁹ James Drummond, *George Wishart on his way to Execution Administering the Sacrament for the First Time in Scotland after the Protestant Form*, 1845, oil on canvas, 76.8cm x 106.7cm, McManus Galleries, Dundee City Council Leisure & Arts. Wilkie, *The Preaching of John Knox before the Lords of Congregation, 10 June 1559* (sketch), c.1822, oil on wood, 46.8cm x 58.8cm, Petworth House, The Egremont Collection. See Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and his pupils*, catalogue entry 42.

⁵⁰ Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*, 31-32.

⁵¹ Anon, "School of Design," *Caledonian Mercury*, 30 June 1857, issue 21141, no page number listed.

⁵² Bignamini and Postle, *The Artist's Model: Its role in British art from Lely to Etty*, catalogue entry 54.

together for morning sessions. Furthermore, oil painting from life was the final stage of the learning process in the TA's curriculum. It is therefore more plausible that the studies were executed in 1858, as it is the year that most of Lauder's better-known students left the TA. This analysis presents Errington's reasonable suggestion of the same model posing for both positions due to the lack of the models' contact or 'cast shadows' as incorrect.⁵³

McTaggart's study (fig 5.11) in particular is remarkable for its juxtaposition of contrasting tones. If the students' studies were indeed carried out during morning sessions, it suggests that Lauder was making use of the obscuring blinds and of gaslight rather than of natural light. These paintings also indicate a departure from the approach to life study practiced by the TA in the 1840s (fig 3.20), and of drawings being made by RA students of the same decade. William Mulready's *British study of a seated male nude* (fig 5.14) was completed in 1853. Although drawn in black and red chalk, his study shows far greater attention to form and technique.⁵⁴ In contrast, the life studies by Lauder's students show that the paint was handled broadly and that the figure was painted in the same manner as the cast studies had been drawn; the emphasis was on darker tones and highlights. Indeed, in terms of the rendering and colouring of the figures, each life study shares an approach that owes to Etty and, ultimately, the Venetian tradition.

As we have seen, the acquisition of Etty's paintings by the RSA had a dramatic effect on TA and RSA artists. The President of the RSA, John Watson Gordon, was of the generation of artists that had experienced the impact of Etty's paintings first-hand as one of the earliest members of the RSA. On his recommendation, Lauder suggested that the Board of Manufactures purchase two life studies of a male and female by Etty, but unfortunately did not specify which ones.⁵⁵ The studies may have been similar to Etty's *Study of a male nude* (fig 5.15) and *Study of a standing female nude* (fig 5.16) from the 1830s to the 1840s. Etty famously worked in the RA life room throughout his career, and he was therefore

⁵³ See entries for April, May and June from the *Day Secretary's Book*, NG1/31/3 (NAS). Inventory file 2411 for McTaggart's *Study of Two Female Nudes*, McTaggart file, National Gallery of Scotland and anon., *The Scotsman*, 10 August 1983, McTaggart file, National Gallery of Scotland. For patterns of models' sittings and census information, see Appendix IV. Also see Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*, catalogue entry 39.

⁵⁴ Smith, *Exposed: The Victorian Nude*, catalogue entry 22.

⁵⁵ 18 January 1853, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/40 (NAS), 116-117. 'Read letter of 17th Instant from Mr Lauder, Director of the Antique, written at the request of Sir John Watson Gordon, President of the Royal Scottish Academy, submitting to the Board two studies from the Life by the late Sir William Etty R.A., belonging to Mr Sibley of Russell Place, London, the one a male figure, the other a female, and stating that Sir John most strongly recommended their being purchased for the use of the Life School of the Board, an opinion in which Mr Lauder entirely concurred, both the studies being of a very high order, and the male considered by competent judges to be one of the finest specimens of painting that either Etty or any other Painter Ancient or Modern ever produced... The Board resolved to make this purchase.'

considered a commendable artist in terms of rendering the human form. His studies were usually made over the course of three evening sessions, firstly by chalking out the figure on paper and inking the outline, then working in oils and painting the figure in sepia and finally by finishing the figure in glaze and localised colour. In his words, he wished to ‘...manage it so, by *scumbling*, that the tints underneath appear. It will give depth, and a fleshiness of effect...’⁵⁶. Similarly, McTaggart worked up his TA life studies by sketching the outline of the figure and rubbing in the background. As he had been taught in the Antique Academy, ‘the system of light and shade, or effect...’ can be seen in his unfinished *Life Study: Standing Female Nude* (fig 5.17) where he added the darker tones before the lighter ones.⁵⁷ According to Lauder’s methods, the transition of tones should be governed by being able ‘to see... the model as a whole’, as he asked his students to consider the model in terms of his/her ‘relations of line and colour.’⁵⁸ Lauder further encouraged the use of rich colour; he used brown and red drapery to hang as a curtain behind the life model(s). Brown and red were colours that reflected well on the skin, and red in particular was a colour that was favoured by the Venetians as well as Etty.⁵⁹ Lauder used crimson red to great effect in his own paintings, working as a sort of visual flag. In *The Shepherdess* (fig 5.18), the red skirt acts as a complementary colour against the bright green of the field. His students similarly employed a jolt of red in their professional work, shown by the dress of the girl in McTaggart’s *Spring* (fig 5.19), or in Chalmers’s *Asleep* (fig 5.20).

The Venetian figure type was also replicated in Lauder’s pupils’ life studies, particularly with reference to the use of the female model. Within the context of contemporary art, Etty was most famous for his repeated use of the female nude figure in his paintings.⁶⁰ He believed: ‘God’s most glorious work to be WOMAN, that all human beauty had been concentrated in her.’⁶¹ It is likely that Etty’s work and the positive reviews of his paintings in Scotland encouraged the steady increase of female models employed by the TA. Etty’s

⁵⁶ Postle and Vaughan, *The Artist’s Model*, catalogue entries 1 and 2. Farr, *William Etty*, 33.

⁵⁷ Errington, *William McTaggart*, 18.

⁵⁸ Armstrong, *The Art of William Quiller Orchardson*, 13.

⁵⁹ Soden, “Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910”, 56. For example of drapery purchased for the Life Academy, see entry for 27 March 1849, *Day Secretary’s Book*, NG1/31/2 (NAS).

⁶⁰ Farr, *William Etty*, 32.

⁶¹ Anon, “William Etty,” *Temple Bar: a London Magazine for Town and Country Readers*, February 1879, 233.

Judith and Holofernes painting was received well in Edinburgh, as it had been in England.⁶² Of his *Judith* (fig 4.25), the *Caledonian Mercury* stated that it

...[indulged] in the most brilliant colouring without ceasing to be chaste and classical... The Judith... embodied in the fairest forms, and surrounded by splendid voluptuousness...⁶³.

The Scotsman added that Etty's *Judith* was 'a noble conception.'⁶⁴ This was in complete contrast to English reviews of the same painting, in which it was stated that Etty 'must... purify his feelings for naked form.'⁶⁵ The English press viewed Etty's nudes as real women, and his depictions of the female form were not considered idealised or chaste. At the TA, we have seen that the curriculum leaned towards naturalist methods which tempered the severer approaches to classical form. Similarly, Etty's paintings were often rooted in classicism and his female figures often 'borrowed' attitudes from antique casts, but he emphasized the nuances of the flesh tones and the curves of the female body, rendered in deep and vibrant colour contrasts.⁶⁶ This may offer an explanation as to why the Scottish reception accorded to Etty's depictions of the female form was so markedly different from English responses of the same period.

The TA maintained this comparatively more liberal response to the female model⁶⁷, despite the UK-wide mounting controversy that was related to the employment of the female nude model. By the mid-nineteenth century, the female model had become a cause of moral and social concern. This was partly due to the increasing numbers of female models being employed throughout the century. Moreover, the significance of the female model as a subject was reflected in genre paintings and literature where she treated as a subject in her own right.⁶⁸ By 1859, Lord Haddo motioned in the House of Commons that government grants should be withdrawn from any state-funded art school that employed the living

⁶² Anon, "The Royal Academy", *The Times*, 11 May 1827, issue 13276, 5. '... We could only repeat the high commendation we have already bestowed on this admirable work, and again express a hope that the artist may acquire profit as well as fame from his exertions.'

⁶³ Anon (signed 'R'), 'Rubens, Etty and Martin', *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 May 1829, issue 16808, no page number listed.

⁶⁴ Anon, 'Fifth Exhibition of the Scottish Academy', *The Scotsman*, 23 March 1831, 4.

⁶⁵ Anon, 'Royal Academy Exhibition', *The Times*, 12 July 1830, issue 14276, 5. See also anon, 'The Royal Academy Exhibition', *The Times*, 4 May 1841, issue 17661, 5.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ At the TA, the female model had been employed regularly, and by 1852, women outnumbered the number of male models.

⁶⁸ For a contemporary discussion of studio modelling 'types', see W.P. Frith, *My autobiography and reminiscences* (London: R. Bentley, 1887-1888), three volumes. Scholars have more recently emphasized the model (particularly female) as a subject for nineteenth-century authors. See Hollander, 'The Model in 19th-Century Anglo-American Literature' from the *Dictionary of Artists' Models*; Jane Desmarais, 'The model on the writers' block: the model in fiction from Balzac to du Maurier' from *Model and Supermodel*; Joy Newton, 'The atelier novel: painters as fictions' from *Impressions of French Modernity: Art and Literature in France, 1850-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Lathers, 'Modesty and the artist's model' in *le chef-d'oeuvre inconnu* from *Symposium*, Spring 1992 (46:1).

model, particularly with reference to Government Schools of Design.⁶⁹ However, the Board of Manufactures' Secretary defended the TA's use of the female nude model:

In the earlier origins of the school, there were some most imperfect and futile attempts to avoid total nudity: but the school in its character has always been for the study of the nude, drapery not being regarded as the object of a Life School.⁷⁰

Despite the TA's defense of the female model, the earlier entries for the *Day Secretary's Books* indicate that it was aware of the moral risks associated with posing. The *Glasgow Herald* article then added

With reference to the above, we are informed that when the School of Design was first opened in Edinburgh not a single woman could be found in Scotland to submit to the humiliation of being exposed before the students; and for some years women were sent up from London by Government. Latterly, however, the temptation held out by a public grant has overcome the female repugnance to exposure.⁷¹

Initially the TA paid female models double the rate of male models, similarly to the RA, which has been discussed in terms of 'shame money.'⁷² The incentive for women to model during this period is also indicated by the wages they received in comparison with other working class professions. In 1847 the model Margaret Paterson earned almost £15 sitting for the TA, posing regularly from January–April, and once for three mornings in October of that year. In Edinburgh in 1862, the salary for domestic servants was little more than £10 per year, and for some, no more than £8.⁷³ In the TA, women posed in the mornings and evenings until November 1854, contrary to the assumption that

[w]hile male models posed in the evenings, female models worked in the mornings – perhaps, it has been suggested, to avoid their going home in the dark, or alternatively to discourage students from socialising with them after hours.⁷⁴

Despite the progressive approach of the TA's employment of life models, it is clear that Lauder managed the Life Academy with a strict sense of propriety. He forced his student John Myles to apologise to one of the TA's female life models after he had singled her out

⁶⁹ Anon, 'Undraped Models', *Caledonian Mercury*, 27 July 1859, issue 21789, no page number listed. Haddo spoke of the 'decay' of art in Government Schools of Art.

⁷⁰ B.F. Primrose, 'The Nude Female Model of Art', 21 June 1859, *Glasgow Herald*, no. 6164, no page number listed.

⁷¹ Ibid. The truth behind this statement is questionable as the TA did not have issues sourcing models. It may be that the Department of Science and Art first sent models when the TA was absorbed into the 'South Kensington System.'

⁷² Desmarais, Postle, and Vaughan (eds.), *Model and Supermodel: the Artist's Model in British Art and Culture*, 12.

⁷³ *Day Secretary's Book*, ledger entries for 1847, NG1/31/2 (NAS). Deborah Valenze, *The First Industrial Woman* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 90-91 and 176-177. In 1833, on average per week, male factory workers earned 22s. 8½ d. with female factory workers making 9s. 8¼.

⁷⁴ Postle and Vaughan, *The artist's model*, catalogue entry 12, 28. *Day Secretary's Book*, ledger entries for 1847, NG1/31/2 (NAS).

in public.⁷⁵ Lauder had to maintain this sense of moral duty in the life room as students were enrolled at the TA as young as thirteen and may have entered the Life Academy before the age of twenty.⁷⁶ In contrast, at the RA no unmarried student under twenty was permitted to work from the female nude model.

‘...their talk was all about colour’⁷⁷: J.F. Lewis, the Pre-Raphaelites and naturalism in Scotland

We have seen that the Venetian approach, as taught by Lauder, underlined the students’ understanding of chiaroscuro which may have been further encouraged by the use of photography. It is evident that Etty was influential in terms of the students’ development of naturalism, particularly with reference to the realistic depiction of female models, and in the dominant use of the Venetian palette. However, Joanna Soden has shown that the watercolours of the English artist John Frederick Lewis were also influential. Lewis’s sixty-four watercolours after the Old Masters were exhibited at the RSA in 1853; they had been purchased by the RSA for £500. As Soden has stated:

Although described as drawings, it was colour and the way this was handled that Lewis had been exploring... Far from slavish imitations, they were highly mediated interpretations through which the artist could explore techniques and advance his own creative development. As such, they were not exceptional, but the opportunity the RSA took to acquire them and to use them as teaching aids was nevertheless highly original.⁷⁸

Soden has shown that the significant acquisition of Lewis’s watercolours was part of an educational policy instigated at the RSA by its treasurer, William Borthwick Johnstone.⁷⁹ She also attributes the authorship of two reviews of the exhibition in *The Scotsman* to Lauder, where, tellingly, the latter singles out Lewis’s copies after Titian and Paul Veronese in a discussion of superior use of colour, calling Titian the ‘greatest of

⁷⁵ Errington, *Master Class*, 31. The privacy of models’ names and addresses were secret amongst institutions and artists, and after *The Art-Union* published a list of names and addresses in 1841, the RA artist Thomas Uwins issued a reprimand: ‘Such a publication as this will go very far to destroy that which all artists have taken so much pains to establish, I mean the respectability of the persons therein named. It will offer a temptation to prurient curiosity, and subject many modest and retiring individuals to impertinent applications...’ Letter from T. Uwins RA, ‘Artists Models’, *The Art-Union*, October 1841, 3:33, 172.

⁷⁶ List of Students admitted for the first time to the School of Design of the Board of Trustees’ for Manufacture in Scotland, NG2/1/4 (NAS). For the academic year 1848/49, 185 students were admitted, including John Bowers, aged 13, listed profession given as a carver.

⁷⁷ Pinnington, ‘Robert Scott Lauder R.S.A. and his Pupils’, 369. In reference to Pettie visiting Chalmers in 1853. The point is reiterated in 1893 in a Pettie biographical sketch, where the author states that ‘Pettie had a strong feeling for colour. He could hardly have been a pupil of Scott Lauder without being affected in that way.’ Gilbert, *The Late John Pettie, R.A., H.R.S.A.*, 208. See also Martin Hardie, *John Pettie* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908), 11.

⁷⁸ Soden, ‘The John Frederick Lewis Collection at the Royal Scottish Academy: Watercolour Copies of Old Masters as Teaching Aids’ from Potter (ed.), *The Concept of the “Master” in Art Education in Britain and Ireland, 1770 to the Present*, 65.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 64. Soden, “Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910”, 123-130.

colourists.’⁸⁰ Chalmers supposedly copied Lewis’s watercolours after Rembrandt, and Errington has stated of McTaggart’s early exhibited work that ‘the oil paint is applied almost as thinly as watercolour.’⁸¹ As a medium, watercolour had gained in significance during the nineteenth century; during the eighteenth century, it was felt that the size and delicacy of watercolours could not compare to the larger oils of the RA exhibitions.⁸² By 1804, however the Society of Painters in Water-Colours had formed, and artists begun to use watercolour and bodycolour to make the medium denser and richer. In particular, Queen Victoria played an important role in supporting watercolour as a medium. As an amateur watercolour artist herself, she often commissioned watercolours of other members of the Royal family.⁸³ She later commissioned RSA founding member and Scottish artist Kenneth MacLeay to paint watercolours of the retainers of the Balmoral estate and the representatives of the chief Highland clans. This further confirmed the importance of the medium in Scotland.⁸⁴ MacLeay was later a judge for the annual competitions in the TA’s Antique and Life Department.⁸⁵

In particular, Lewis explored a technique similar to the early Pre-Raphaelite oils in that he painted on a wet, white ground. Dante Gabriel Rossetti’s *The Girlhood of Virgin Mary* (fig 5.21) was painted on a primed white canvas, where each tint of paint was layered with watercolour brushes.⁸⁶ The Pre-Raphaelites’ paintings were influential to contemporary artists, including Scottish painters. When the work of John Everett Millais was exhibited in Scotland, the Scottish artist George Reid (1831-1913) praised the virtues of Millais’s ‘unrivalled broad masterly treatment, power of handling, and richness, beauty and delicacy of colour.’⁸⁷ William Dyce, meanwhile, played an essential role in promoting the work of the Pre-Raphaelites to the influential art critic John Ruskin. As we have seen, Dyce had first met Millais and his fellow Pre-Raphaelite Holman Hunt at the RA Life Academy.

⁸⁰ Ibid. Anon (Robert Scott Lauder?), ‘Fine Arts: Royal Scottish Academy’, *The Scotsman*, 16 November 1853, 3.

⁸¹ Edward Pinnington, *George Paul Chalmers, R.S.A. and the art of his time* (Glasgow: T & R Annan, 1896), 94-95. Errington, *William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 24.

⁸² Andrew Wilton and Anne Lyles, *The Great Age of British Watercolours 1750-1880* (London and Washington D.C.: Royal Academy of Arts and the National Gallery of Art, 1993), 262.

⁸³ Sam Fenwick and Greg Smith, *The Business of Watercolour: A Guide to the Archives of the Royal Watercolour Society* (Oxford: Ashgate, 1997), 20. The authors further discuss the influential role of Victoria and Albert in the growth of watercolour painting and its popularity with reference to publication.

⁸⁴ Delia Miller, *The Highlanders of Scotland: The complete watercolours commissioned by Queen Victoria from Kenneth MacLeay of her Scottish retainers and clansmen* (London: Haggerston Press, 1986).

⁸⁵ See 6 July 1857, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/41 (NAS), 231.

⁸⁶ Ibid. See also Prettejohn, *The Art of the Pre-Raphaelites*, 140 and Alison Smith, ‘Medium and method in Pre-Raphaelite painting’ from *Pre-Raphaelites: Victorian Avant-Garde*, by Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith (London: Tate Publishing, 2012), 18-23.

⁸⁷ Quoted in Melville, “John Everett Millais and His Scottish Friends,” 33.

Moreover, Dyce was a member of the RA Hanging Committee when Hunt's *Rienzi* and Millais's *Isabella* were selected in 1849.⁸⁸

It is telling that Ruskin greatly admired Lewis's watercolours, particularly with reference to the detail he was able to capture through the medium, which Ruskin interpreted as 'realism and truth.'⁸⁹ This was an essential lesson Lauder was also teaching his own students. Ruskin lectured in Edinburgh in 1853 on the merits of the Pre-Raphaelites, and the work of Pre-Raphaelite artists had been exhibited at the RSA throughout the 1850s, including Millais's *Christ in the House of His Parents* and *Mariana* (shown shortly after their RA exhibition) and *Ophelia* in 1852.⁹⁰ In Scottish art, the Pre-Raphaelite style found its visual companion most clearly in the paintings of Waller Hugh Paton and his brother, Joseph Noel Paton.⁹¹

Meanwhile, the Pre-Raphaelites had their detractors in Edinburgh. Lauder's assistant, John Ballantyne (1815-1897), stated that the Pre-Raphaelites' use of colour was 'too pure and wanting in tone', and he published a pamphlet in 1856, warning art students against abandoning the Old Masters for 'the study of nature above all else.'⁹² Despite the overarching turn to naturalism in Scottish art, it is clear that senior artists were perplexed that Pre-Raphaelitism did not appear to be rooted in classicism. William Fettes Douglas, member of the RSA, asked '...is it they admire the thin Skinny figures of that period rather than the More Fully developed figures of Raffael's (sic) time [?].'⁹³ At the TA's annual distribution of prizes, it was noted that the Pre-Raphaelites recorded details 'just as they find them, however uncouth some of the forms may happen to be, or though there may be a want of harmony amongst the colours.'⁹⁴ It was noted, however, that they allowed for

⁸⁸ See Pointon, *William Dyce*, 122 and 146-147. William Holman Hunt, *Rienzi vowing to obtain justice for the death of his young brother, slain in a skirmish between the Colonna and Orsini Factions*, oil on canvas, 1848-49, 86.3cm x 122cm, private collection. John Everett Millais, *Isabella*, oil on canvas, 1848-49, 103cm x 142.8cm, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

⁸⁹ Fenwick and Smith, *The Business of Watercolour: A Guide to the Archives of the Royal Watercolour Society*, 13; Andrew Wilton, *British Watercolours 1750 to 1850* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977), 52-53.

⁹⁰ Millais, *Christ in the House of His Parents*, 1849-50, oil paint on canvas, 86.4cm x 139.7cm, Tate Britain, London. Millais, *Mariana*, 1851, oil paint on mahogany, 59.7cm x 49.5cm, Tate Britain, London. Millais, *Ophelia*, 1851-2, oil paint on canvas, 76.2cm x 111.8cm, Tate Britain, London.

⁹¹ Williams, *The Bigger Picture: A History of Scottish Art*, 102. Here, artists' responses to Pre-Raphaelitism are grouped under the heading 'William Dyce and pre-Raphaelitism in Scotland.' However, the development of style similar in Scotland that was Pre-Raphaelitism deserves closer inspection, given that Noel Paton exhibited 'Pre-Raphaelite' style paintings in 1847, a year before the Brotherhood was founded.

⁹² Joanna Soden, "'This Kind of Art They Call Pre-Raphaelite': The Response of Some Scottish Artists to the Paintings of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood," *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History* 17 (2012-2013), 40-42.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 40.

⁹⁴ Anon, "School of Design," *Caledonian Mercury*, 30 June 1857, no page number listed. Andrew Coventry gave the speech as Chairperson.

‘great care in drawing...’⁹⁵. This anticipated an emphasis of form over colour, which was outlined in a *Report*, compiled by RSA members Paton, Archer and Drummond after the *Treasury Minute* of 1858.⁹⁶ The *Treasury Minute* was the result of the unstable position of the TA in Scotland, and it was symptomatic of the increasingly democratic nature of art education in general. Changes had been afoot from the 1830s with the *Letter to Lord Meadowbank*; in 1847 the *Treasury* had then commissioned a *Report* from John George Shaw Lefevre (1797–1879), Secretary to the Board of Trade, in relation to the TA’s management by the Board of Manufactures. His primary recommendation was that the RSA should have purpose-built accommodation, and that it should have sole responsibility for a Life Academy, with the TA operating as a School of Design.⁹⁷ The result of Lefevre’s *Report* was the construction of the now-known National Gallery of Scotland (then intended as purpose-built RSA accommodation and the new National Gallery building) on the Mound, behind the Royal Institution, with the foundation stone being laid by Prince Albert in 1850.

Although rumours were circulating regarding the foundation of a second Government School of Design, Primrose, the secretary of the Board, visited London and found no serious developments. Yet he realised that ‘a sentiment prevailed among the Heads of the Department of Practical Art, that several improvements might be introduced into the Board’s School.’⁹⁸ In 1858, James Wilson MP (1805–1860) visited Edinburgh to examine developments in relation to the building of the new premises for the RSA on the Mound, anticipating management issues between the RSA and the Board of Manufactures. The outcome of Wilson’s visit was the *Treasury Minute*, published in 1858 with its recommendations. Wilson’s primary recommendation was that the TA’s methods should be brought into line with those of the Department of Science and Art, and expenditure for the Academy managed by that that same Department.⁹⁹ As Soden has shown, the *Treasury Minute* echoes Dyce’s suggestions in his *Letter to Lord Meadowbank* in 1837 and it also reinforced the earlier recommendations of Lefevre’s *Report*.¹⁰⁰ The Life Academy was transferred to the RSA, with the TA being integrated in the Department of Science and Art and operating on the same principles as other Government Schools of Design in the UK.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ J.N. Paton, J. Drummond, and J. Archer, *Report by the Visitors on the Mode of Conducting the Study of the Living Model*, Laws and Regulations of the Life School, 1858 (Edinburgh, 1884).

⁹⁷ Soden, “Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910”, 164.

⁹⁸ 19 November 1855, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/40 (NAS), 435–236.

⁹⁹ Soden, “Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910”, 168–169.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 169.

The TA was renamed as the Trustees' School of Art, and it was to follow the *National Course of Instruction*, drawn up by Richard Redgrave. Redgrave's preference for a more rigid approach to the curriculum, inspired by German educational models, was stifling in comparison with the TA's master-led approaches.¹⁰¹ This drastic change not only represented a loss of autonomy in teaching methods but the loss of national identity for the dominant Scottish art institution of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, to be discussed further in Chapter 6.¹⁰²

However, Lauder's tenure had proved to be very influential. He instilled in his students an appreciation for naturalistic painterly treatment and details by focusing on form, tone and vibrant colour; Lauder adopted a new approach to classicism. He pushed for an awareness of detail and attention to nature, as shown by the prominence of the work of Etty, Lewis and the Pre-Raphaelites. At the same time, he encouraged a painterly approach to the figure, and this ensured that the students' work was fluid in form and technique, despite critics' comments that their paintings often looked unfinished.¹⁰³ Indeed, McTaggart's works were recognisable in terms of 'the healthy feeling, *the truthful tone*, and the good touch which have distinguished his more important productions' [my emphasis].¹⁰⁴ The next part of this chapter seeks to explore McTaggart's figurative work post-TA by considering his immediate influences. James Caw, McTaggart's biographer, has stated that Pre-Raphaelitism was 'not for them', referring to the students of Lauder.¹⁰⁵ However, scholars have since linked the work of the Pre-Raphaelites with McTaggart's early career paintings.¹⁰⁶

McTaggart, the Pre-Raphaelites and photography: themes and models

It is clear that McTaggart would have seen the work of the Pre-Raphaelites at the RSA, where they were exhibited throughout the 1850s, and at the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition in 1857. McTaggart's *The Wreck of the Hesperus* (fig 5.22) owed stylistically and thematically to the Pre-Raphaelites, particularly in its choice of a literary subject, a poem by Henry Longfellow. Longfellow was listed as one of the Pre-Raphaelites' 'Immortals', and following a precedent set by the Pre-Raphaelites, lines from the poem

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 307.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*, 39-40.

¹⁰⁴ Anon, "Royal Scottish Academy," *The Art Journal*, May 1866, 138.

¹⁰⁵ Caw, *William McTaggart, R.S.A., V.P.R.S.W.: a Biography and an Appreciation*, 20.

¹⁰⁶ Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*, catalogue entry 53; Errington, *William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 24-26; Kvaerne, *Singing Songs of the Scottish Heart: William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 66-69.

were included with McTaggart's painting in the accompanying RSA catalogue.¹⁰⁷ Similarly McTaggart's *Dora* (fig 5.23) depicted a scene from Alfred Tennyson's poem, a favourite literary source for the Pre-Raphaelites, and again the accompanying RSA catalogue included lines from the poem to supplement the viewing of the picture. Longfellow's poem tells the story of a skipper who refused to steer his boat into shelter from an incoming storm, and in order to protect his daughter, he tied her to the mast to prevent her from falling overboard. The ship was wrecked in the storm; the skipper later found his daughter drowned and still tied to the mast, washed up on the beach the following morning. The poem embodied the moral pathos favoured by the Pre-Raphaelites in their own paintings. *The Wreck of the Hesperus* (fig 5.22) is perhaps more typically Pre-Raphaelite in its painterly treatment, from the minute detailing of the seaweed and rocks, to the use of low light from the early morning rising sun. However, McTaggart used the Lauderean visual signifier of the red cap on the skipper's head to draw the eye into the composition (fig 5.18). In an echo of the tale where Elizabeth Siddal, Millais's model for *Ophelia*, was posed in a tin bathtub filled with water,¹⁰⁸ McTaggart asked his sister to pose for him for the figure of the skipper's daughter, and to gain 'greater truth of effect', McTaggart obtained a broken mast and positioned his sister against it. His sister's costume was also soaked and placed on a lay figure moved into the same position.¹⁰⁹

Elizabeth Prettejohn has written of the Pre-Raphaelites preference for artists' models based on, as she terms it, their 'truthful presentment of the imagined character', as well as the realistic representation of the model's appearance.¹¹⁰ As the Pre-Raphaelites often selected literary or history themes for their paintings, it was desirable to search for models that were thought to uphold the spiritual qualities desired of the role. The Pre-Raphaelites often used the same model; this led to the identification and fame of individual models, and there is a body of work that discusses and analyses the 'cult' of the Pre-Raphaelite model.¹¹¹ However, according to Prettejohn, Pre-Raphaelite paintings can retrospectively be viewed as portraits and therefore have a Freudian 'doubling' effect.¹¹² It is possible to apply

¹⁰⁷ Kvaerne, *Singing Songs of the Scottish Heart: William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 68. Millais had exhibited *Christ in the House of His Parents* and without a title, and instead cited a biblical quotation: 'And one shall say unto him, What are those wounds in thine hands? Then he shall answer, Those with which I was wounded in the house of my friends.' (Zech. 13:6). It was common for the Pre-Raphaelites to include the source text as part of the frame or in the accompanying exhibition catalogue.

¹⁰⁸ Marsh, *Pre-Raphaelite Women: Images of Femininity in Pre-Raphaelite Art*, 138.

¹⁰⁹ Caw, *William McTaggart, R.S.A., V.P.R.S.W.: a Biography and an Appreciation*, 33.

¹¹⁰ Prettejohn, *The Art of the Pre-Raphaelites*, 193.

¹¹¹ For example, Deborah Cherry and Griselda Pollock offer a challenging reexamination of Siddal's identity in: "Woman as Sign in Pre-Raphaelite Literature: The Representation of Elizabeth Siddall," in Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and the Histories of Art*, 128-162.

¹¹² Prettejohn, *The Art of the Pre-Raphaelites*, 194 and 203-205.

Prettejohn's theory to the work of McTaggart? It is likely that he used his family as models as they were free and available.¹¹³ However, it is possible that McTaggart was aware of selecting models that would give a 'greater truth of effect.' This was not related to the literary or spiritual qualities that the Pre-Raphaelites sought in models; instead, it may be suggested that the circumstances of McTaggart's models often corresponded with the roles they depicted. This can be seen as part of McTaggart's emphasis on authenticity, and as part of his overarching belief in naturalism.

For *The Yarn* (fig 5.24), McTaggart's father posed for the figure of the elderly man in the cart,¹¹⁴ and it is possible that his brother Duncan posed for the part of the sailor, as this figure resembles a portrait of him by McTaggart (fig 5.25). The narrative of the painting tells of a sailor returning home. He is spinning a 'yarn', or telling a story, to the old man and the girl sitting in the cart. McTaggart had returned to his native Argyllshire in 1860 to make sketches, and the town depicted in *The Yarn* is Campbeltown, with the sea in the distance. As Kvaerne has noted, the picture is made more poignant as it underlined McTaggart's return to Campbeltown after studying and working in Edinburgh,¹¹⁵ and it also marked the year of his father's death. The old man and the girl are depicted as rural country folk echoing the station of McTaggart's family; McTaggart had supported his family throughout his student days, often answering appeals for rent.¹¹⁶ Therefore, this interpretation of the painting poses McTaggart as the sailor returning from his travels, with the old man and girl standing in for his father and sister. It is both a celebration of his homecoming and a memorial to his father.

McTaggart had also used his 'younger brother, his sisters, and their friends'¹¹⁷ for *The Past and the Present* (fig 5.26), bought by Robert Craig of Glasgow who had a hand in shaping its composition.¹¹⁸ The subject of the painting was based on the contrast 'between childhood and age'¹¹⁹, deliberately set in the 'old graveyard of Kilchousland... on a green knoll above Kilbrannan Sound, a mile or more north of the entrance to Campbeltown Loch.'¹²⁰ The children in the painting are depicted piling up the bricks near a tombstone, giving the impression of rebuilding, while the aged church in the background frames the

¹¹³ Kvaerne, *Singing Songs of the Scottish Heart: William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 45.

¹¹⁴ Caw, *William McTaggart, R.S.A., V.P.R.S.W.: A Biography and an Appreciation*, 34.

¹¹⁵ Kvaerne, *Singing Songs of the Scottish Heart: William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 48.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 32.

¹¹⁷ Caw, *William McTaggart, R.S.A., V.P.R.S.W.: A Biography and an Appreciation*, 26.

¹¹⁸ Kvaerne, *Singing Songs of the Scottish Heart: William McTaggart, 1835-1910*. See 55-57 for some of the correspondence between McTaggart and Craig in the shaping of the picture.

¹¹⁹ Errington, *William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 28.

¹²⁰ Caw, *William McTaggart, R.S.A., V.P.R.S.W.: A Biography and an Appreciation*, 26.

figure group. The symbolism of the painting speaks to the older generation and the newer one, of the land and sea being ‘the source of life and death in his community of origin.’¹²¹ While *The Yarn* and *The Past and the Present* are similar to other rural genre paintings that McTaggart was making during this period, the parallels between the depiction of rural figures and his own family’s circumstances may have been deliberate choices by McTaggart.

It is probable that McTaggart was also looking towards the work of the successful Scottish genre painter Thomas Faed, particularly for his use of pathos or social commentary.¹²² Faed advised students at the Islington Art School to paint

...the gutter children of London rather than Helen of Troy, Agamemnon, or Achilles, on the ground that ‘While in the latter case they might be painting lie upon lie, in the former they would be painting things which they had seen with their own eyes.’¹²³

Faed showed at the RSA annual exhibitions during the 1840s and 1850s, sending work to the RA from 1850 and achieving national success with *The Mitherless Bairn* (fig 5.27) exhibited in the RA in 1855.¹²⁴ It is possible that McTaggart looked to Faed’s *The Scottish Peasant’s Family* (fig 5.28) for his depiction of destitute children like the *Puir Weans* (fig 5.29) of 1863, possibly with the setting of Edinburgh’s High Street in the background.¹²⁵ Although McTaggart’s painting was a commission from the picture dealer Charles Hargitt, it conforms to Murdo MacDonald’s description of him as a ‘social realist.’¹²⁶ However, unlike Faed, McTaggart’s paintings do not conform to oversentimental narratives. His paintings are more concerned with the representation of broader symbolic themes, like age or time, as we have seen, and related to his native countryside and its people (fig 5.30).

McTaggart’s paintings reference Scottish rural society and genre tradition, established by the poetry of Ramsay and Burns and the illustrations and paintings by David Allan.¹²⁷ Scholars have traced McTaggart’s identification with his Gaelic heritage in his later

¹²¹ MacDonald, *Scottish Art*, 122.

¹²² Hardie, *Scottish Painting: 1837 to the Present*, 47. Faed had been educated at the TA by William Allan, Thomas Duncan and John Ballantyne, although his subject choice was encouraged by his friendship with the philanthropist Angela Burdett-Coutts (1814-1906).

¹²³ Mary McKerrow, *The Faeds: A Biography* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1982), 120-121.

¹²⁴ Ibid, 96-97. Throughout his career, Faed increased his popularity through engravings and (initially) through selling his pictures to London galleries. *The Mitherless Bairn* was engraved and published, including 475 artist’s proofs.

¹²⁵ Caw, *William McTaggart, R.S.A., V.P.R.S.W.: A Biography and an Appreciation*, 28.

¹²⁶ Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, 121.

¹²⁷ Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 166. John Morrison has convincingly shown that McTaggart and the Scottish-based contingent of Lauder’s students rejected ‘the prevailing practices and ideology of Highlandism’ in the selection of rural genre over history/literary inspired themes, with a particular focus on Chalmers and Cameron. However, this does not mean that the students abandoned Scottish precedents altogether.

paintings from the 1880s in which he confronts the issues of the Highland Clearances.¹²⁸

However, his paintings also show an identification and celebration of contemporary Argyllshire life and land, particularly with its fishing community. At the same time, other Scottish artists were exploring Naturalism through the depiction of contemporary rural scenes. The role of the Scottish artist George Reid was significant due to his published ideas on the topic. He believed that the rural subject matter of Continental movements, referring to Dutch and French realism, was implicitly national in its character. The representation of modern life, according to Reid, was ‘the only kind [of painting] that is valuable and enduring...’¹²⁹ and he thus echoed the philosophies of French art theorists, most notably Charles Baudelaire.¹³⁰

Within this context, Hill and Adamson had also captured the ‘truthful’ contemporary life of a local fishing community in calotypes in *The Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth*, in 1844.¹³¹ As Sara Stevenson has shown, the Newhaven fishing village had a distinct identity in the nineteenth century that was associated with the fisherwomen who were renowned for their ‘beauty and picturesque dress.’¹³² As indicated by Reid’s writing, Scottish artists, including McTaggart, had also been exposed to the work of the Dutch realists, particularly the Hague School.¹³³ Given McTaggart’s association with the Hague School, it would have further appealed to him that Newhaven was likened to Flemish and Dutch fishing towns in its character

To any one who is personally acquainted with their village ways, customs, idioms, family names, and costumes, it is often noticeable how much they resemble Flemish and Dutch fisherfolk.¹³⁴

There is evidence to suggest that McTaggart was aware of photography of a similar kind to Hill and Adamson’s Newhaven calotypes. He owned a platinum print of a seascape by the

¹²⁸ Errington, *William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 105-114; MacDonald, *Scottish Art*, 122-125; Kvaerne, *Singing Songs of the Scottish Heart: William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 191-203. The authors see McTaggart’s exploration of his Gaelic identity as part of the Celtic Revival of the late Victorian period.

¹²⁹ Veri Vindex (George Reid and John Forbes White), “Thoughts on Art, and Notes on the Exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy of 1868.” (Edinburgh: sine nomine, 1868), 26.

¹³⁰

¹³¹ Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 67. Stevenson, *Hill & Adamson’s the Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth*, 31. It is possible that Hill and Adamson intended this album to be juxtaposed with their five other calotype albums, of which one was *Highland Character and Costume*. This indicates that Hill and Adamson’s series was part of the union-nationalist agenda of Scottish painting of the 1840s, presenting ‘genres’ of Scottish people that conformed to national type.

¹³² Stevenson, *Hill & Adamson’s the Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth*, 17.

¹³³ Errington, *William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 66; Kvaerne, *Singing Songs of the Scottish Heart: William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 43. Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 149-166. McTaggart met the Hague School artist David Adolphe Constant Artz in 1869

¹³⁴ Ibid, 19. From an account written by Mrs George Cupples in 1888.

photographer, James Cox (1849-1901).¹³⁵ Cox was an amateur painter, and exhibited landscapes at the RSA between 1884 and 1886; his works bears similarities to McTaggart's in the exploration of light in particular. Cox also made platinum prints of fishing towns in the East coast, including Auchmithie and West Haven, and it is possible that McTaggart may have seen these prints. However, Cox's photographs do not share the picturesque charm of Hill and Adamson's Newhaven calotypes, and instead portray the realistic hardships of life, with the children shown in ragged clothes confronting the viewer through the camera lens (fig 5.31).

The cyclical themes of community and mortality, explored by Hill and Adamson in the Newhaven calotypes, also find their parallel in McTaggart's paintings. The calotype *James Linton, his Boat and Bairns* (fig 5.32) shows a father and his sons, resting against the family's fishing boat from which they were dependent for the livelihood and for their contribution to the community and the children symbolic of the future generation of fishermen that would continue the tradition.¹³⁶ McTaggart adopts similar themes in his own paintings, particularly evident in his *For his daily bread* (fig 5.33).¹³⁷ The Newhaven calotypes are also significant in featuring groups of children in the community, playing near fishing boats (fig 5.34). Hill skilfully arranged the children into groups, partly so that they would be able to hold the pose for the length of the exposure.¹³⁸ In the Newhaven calotypes, Hill and McTaggart share an admiration of the spirit of a community and of the realities of coastal working life, or in other words, its 'contemporary reality.'¹³⁹

This chapter has shown that Lauder's approach was instrumental to the continuation of the study of the figure at the TA, and of a classicist curriculum tempered by naturalism. It is possible to see a progression of naturalist treatment under Lauder's tenure as he introduced new, inventive methods of teaching his students. The empirical leanings of the TA, discussed in Chapter 3, were not as evident under Lauder's tenure, although the students

¹³⁵ Sara Stevenson, *James Cox 1849-1901* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1988), 5-6. With thanks to Dr. Stevenson for bringing this photographer to my attention.

¹³⁶ Simpson, *The Photography of Victorian Scotland*, 40.

¹³⁷ This painting by McTaggart has been discussed within the context of Pre-Raphaelitism, most specifically with reference to Millais. Errington, *William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 28.

¹³⁸ Sara Stevenson, *Facing the Light: The Photography of Hill & Adamson* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 2002), 68.

¹³⁹ Stevenson, *Hill & Adamson's the Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth*, 40-41. As Stevenson has noted, Hill was inspired by Newhaven in comparison to the 'poverty and disease' of Edinburgh's Old Town, which was becoming a public issue due to Dr William Pulteney Alison's report of 1840. This fits with the UK-wide interest in public health of the 1840s and 50s, realised in publications by William Acton and Henry Mayhew. Ibid, 23-25.

continued to attend anatomy classes. Lauder instead sought out techniques that would change the way his students painted, and they were influenced by the work of J.F. Lewis and the Pre-Raphaelites. McTaggart, for example, showed an appreciation for realistic detail that was partly due to the Pre-Raphaelite influence. Therefore, an evolution in methods was taking place at the TA that supported a realistic approach to the figure, a fuller understanding of tonal values, and the interaction of figure groups within the same space. A modification of naturalism also developed through the calotypes of Hill and Adamson, which were contemporaneously described as ‘true to nature.’ Although Hill and Adamson photographed real-life subjects, the sitters were deliberately posed. Hill’s artistic approach and Adamson’s technique meant that the artistic tone was naturalistic rather than exclusively realistic. More importantly, Hill and Adamson’s calotypes were thought to be representative of moral truth.

The second part of this chapter focused on Lauder’s student, McTaggart, and it has proposed that his sensitivity to colour and natural, broken brushwork¹⁴⁰ owe much to Lauder. This type of naturalistic ‘moral truth’ was realised to its fullest in McTaggart’s work. McTaggart himself believed in ‘earnest work’¹⁴¹, and he felt that it was his duty to paint his native countrymen situated in their own landscape. Indeed he stated that he ‘would rather be first in my own country than second in any other.’¹⁴² From Hill and Adamson, while not forgetting Dyce, McTaggart’s paintings presented a new approach to naturalism that engaged with themes of social importance or ‘honesty’ and marks an engagement with realism.

Although the second half of the chapter largely excluded any real discussion of the Hague School, it is evident that Continental realist and naturalist movements were very influential in Scottish art of the later nineteenth century. As the TA became part of the ‘South Kensington System’ in 1858, the introduction of the set curriculum raises questions over the development of the School, particularly in relation to the growing dominance of Continental methods of art education.

¹⁴⁰ See Morrison for discussion of tonalité with reference to a new approach to colour that relied upon the Dutch/European influences. Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 155–156.

¹⁴¹ Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*, 31.

¹⁴² T.S. Robertson, ‘Famous Scottish Artist: William MacTaggart R.S.A.’, *Dundee Courier*, 10 May 1904 quoted in Kvaerne, *Singing Songs of the Scottish Heart: William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 91.

Chapter 6: Naturalism post-1858 and the Trustees' School of Art

Mr Lauder believes that the studies of various kinds exhibited cannot fail to show that the school is in a healthy state, and that the students are acquiring a genuine basis and preparation for the comprehension of nature, which must be the occupation of their lives.¹

This *Report*, prepared by Lauder for the TA's annual distribution of prizes in 1856, showed that by the mid-Victorian period, the TA had a strong sense of its purpose in Scottish art that was tied to naturalist methods and, very often, nationalist themes. Prior chapters have shown that the independent approach of each TA master encouraged the study of nature, from David Allan's endorsement that 'there can be no better models than what Nature in this country daily presents to our view'² to Dyce's recommendation that students should 'turn to nature.'³ Moreover, Lauder's *Report* confirmed that a recognisable Scottish School of painting had been established by the 1850s with its identity firmly tied to explorations of Scottish figurative subjects and to the land.⁴ Yet the TA was to undergo its biggest transformation due to the publication of the *Treasury Minute* in 1858 and the changes effected by it.

As we have seen, throughout the 1850s the Board of Manufactures had become increasingly aware of its isolated position within the national framework of the Schools of Design. The rumour of a second School of Design, to be founded in Edinburgh, prompted further changes by the Board to the TA's constitution. After the visit of John Wilson MP, his recommendations were published in the *Treasury Minute* and this document ended the pedagogical autonomy exercised by TA masters. The responsibility for the Life Academy was handed over to the RSA, and the TA – henceforth the Trustees' School of Art – became affiliated with the Government Schools of Design (under Cole, the renamed 'Schools of Practical Art'). It adhered to the national curriculum, the *National Course of Instruction*⁵, drawn up by Richard Redgrave. After Lauder's resignation in 1861, the Trustees' School of Art operated under the direction of headmaster Charles Hodder (1835–1926) (fig 6.0), who was an alumnus of the 'South Kensington System.'

¹ Anon, "Edinburgh," *Caledonian Mercury*, 8 July 1856, issue 20836, no page number listed.

² Crouther Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa 1744-1796: The Scottish Hogarth*, 37.

³ Dyce and Heath Wilson, *Letter to Lord Meadowbank*, 39-40.

⁴ Irwin and Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900*, 283-311; Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*. See Chapters 4 and 5 in particular.

⁵ See *Report from the Select Committee on the School of Design*. In this *Select Committee Report*, Redgrave gave evidence on the unsatisfactory nature of the current curriculum operated by the Schools of Design, as first implemented by Dyce.

Furthermore, the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed great changes in art ethos and education across a range of institutions and countries. Amongst these was the first training school of art masters and the foundation of the first museum dedicated to applied art (the Museum of Manufactures, now the Victoria & Albert Museum). Significantly, women had been first admitted to the 'Female School' of the Government School of Design in 1837. The RA and RSA remained conservative with regard to its admissions of female students, although other exhibiting bodies were founded for women artists, including The Society of Female Artists in London, were established in 1857.⁶ Furthermore, the Slade School of Art in London, founded 1871, allowed male and female students to work from the life together in the same classroom.

This chapter seeks to answer questions regarding the transition from the TA to the Trustees' School of Art, primarily: did the Trustees' School of Art facilitate the study of naturalism within the boundaries of the 'South Kensington' curriculum? Alternatively can we trace Trustees' School of Art students' development of naturalism through other pedagogical means in the later nineteenth century, or does it form part of Lauder's students' legacy?

The TA, the *Treasury Minute* and the RSA Life School

The TA's role in art education in Scotland, particularly from the 1820s until the middle of the century, was subject to continued scrutiny. The suggestions made in Dyce and Heath Wilson's *Letter to Lord Meadowbank*, published in 1837, prompted the first serious attempt by the Board of Manufactures to examine the TA's pedagogical structure. In order to improve taste in designs for manufactures, recommendations included the division of the TA into two departments: the 'School of Form' and the 'School of Colour.'⁷ The School of Form encompassed geometric drawing, architecture and sculpture, while the School of Colour would include lessons on 'the general use, the arrangement, and the harmony of colours.'⁸ Dyce and Heath Wilson suggested clearly defined stages of instruction, laying the foundations of the *National Course of Instruction*

1. The drawing of simple forms, such as squares, circles, &c. This branch of the drawing school would consist of two classes; the first for drawing from the flat (as it is termed); and the second from the round or solid. In this latter class, the student would be taught

⁶ See Helland, *Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Commitment, Friendship, Pleasure* in particular for the intake of female students at the TA and the Trustees' School of Art.

⁷ Dyce and Wilson, "Letter to Lord Meadowbank...", 33.

⁸ Ibid, 33 and 43.

- the proper use of chalks in stippling, hatching, &c. for the purpose of adding the light and shade; his study of which commences here.
2. The drawing of complicated forms, of inanimate nature, as, for examples, from the antique.
 3. Drawing from nature; from the living model, from animals, and from botanical specimens.⁹

The Board of Manufactures acted on the *Letter to Lord Meadowbank* with William Allan continuing as the 'Teacher of Drawing from the Antique and the human form', and a new (short-lived) post created for Dyce as a Teacher of Colour.¹⁰ In the same period, Charles Health Wilson was appointed as Teacher of Architecture and Dr Monro as a Teacher of Anatomy.¹¹ Upon the death of William Allan in 1844 the TA was again restructured and Thomas Duncan was appointed as his successor. The Academy was also divided into two branches: one to support fine art students, and another dedicated to the study of 'Architecture and Ornamental drawing.'¹² Upon Duncan's untimely death in 1845, Alexander Christie was appointed the Teacher of Architecture and Ornament and Director of the TA, and John Ballantyne became 'Professor of the Antique and of drawing from the living figure.'¹³

Particularly after the foundation of the RSA and the *Letter to Lord Meadowbank*, the Board of Manufactures became more aware of the unique position of the TA within British art education and made some attempts to regulate it on the same lines as the Schools of Design. This is made evident by the discussion the Board were having in 1849; members observed that salaries for Ballantyne and his assistant were low in comparison with those paid to teachers at Somerset House, the Central School of Design (fig 6.1), 'the establishment of which it is well known was formed on the most economical principles.'¹⁴ As we have seen in Chapter 5, the Board of Manufactures remodeled the TA in 1851, paying attention to the fine arts and 'especially to their connexion with and bearing upon the Industrial Arts and Manufactures.'¹⁵ The increasingly insecure position of the TA in Scottish art education was further tested by the false rumour related to the foundation of a second School of Design in Edinburgh. Lauder meanwhile continued to make strident

⁹ Ibid, 33–34.

¹⁰ 17 July 1849, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/39 (NAS), 39–40.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid, 41–42. The Board stated that, at this time, the Antique and Life School should have two assistants, with the 'Architecture and Ornamental drawing' to have one assistant.

¹³ Ibid. Christie's salary was £200 p.a., with the one assistant for each Department to receive a salary of £100 p.a.. In comparison, Ballantyne's salary was £150 per year.

¹⁴ Ibid, 42–43. Ballantyne's salary was increased to £175 per annum, with his assistant receiving £150 which was 'still considerably below

¹⁵ 19 January 1852, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/40 (NAS), 43.

improvements in the Antique and Life Academies, yet the TA's *raison d'être* continued to be questioned throughout the 1850s. These persistent questions about the Academy's role in art education led to the compilation of a *Report* by Hill and Christie in 1854, with the approval of the Treasury via Lord Elcho, (Francis Richard Charteris, 10th Earl of Wemyss, 1818–1914), then one of the Commissioners of the Board. Hill and Christie's *Report* recommended that the Board implement day classes and introduce fees, that it should form a geometry class for the TA and supplement practical teaching with art lectures.¹⁶ The aim was to make the TA 'self-supporting' by removing the 'system of gratuitous instruction.'¹⁷ This was likely an attempt to further secure the TA's position while appearing to appease the Treasury. Hill and Christie added that

This change has been adopted with the best results in all the Government Schools of Design, and they have thriven and shown a far greater vitality under it.¹⁸

Hill's role was significant in the Board's movements prior to the *Treasury Minute*. Soden has shown that Hill used position on the Board of Manufactures to advance the ambitions for the RSA during this period. He regularly corresponded with friends and associates, including Dyce and Paton, regarding appointments within the TA and sought advice on matters related to the curriculum.¹⁹

After Hill and Christie's changes were implemented, the Board noted an increase in the numbers of students attending, with 179 students registered by the end of March 1857 and 189 by June 1857.²⁰ However, the RSA had become concerned that the Board of Manufactures was attempting to appropriate the newly built National Gallery and RSA premises for its own ends.²¹ MP John Wilson's visit was intended to resolve this matter, yet the subsequent *Treasury Minute* became an assessment of the TA and its constitution. He concluded that the

¹⁶ 19 November 1855, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/40 (NAS), 435–442. Hill and Christie's visit came after Primrose, the Board's Secretary, visited London with Lord Elcho in search of any substance behind the rumour concerning the foundation of a second Government School of Design in Edinburgh. Though student numbers were rising, overall attendance was lower at the TA once fees were introduced (from 1857–1858, 309 students were admitted, but in 1855–56, 431 students were registered). See 25 October 1858, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/40 (NAS), 491.

¹⁷ 19 November 1855, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/40, 441.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 441–442.

¹⁹ Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826–1910", 182.

²⁰ 30 March 1857, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/41 (NAS), 206–207 and 6 July 1857, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/41 (NAS), 233. Male students counted for more than half of the total number of students registered, with 90 men and 56 women registered at the end of the March term (and 27 further admissions during that term).

²¹ Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826–1910", 168.

...line should be drawn between the functions of that School and those of the Royal Academy [the RSA], in order the they may work in harmony and with more effect in relation to each other. Upon full consideration of this point, and after consulting the best authorities upon it, my Lords have come to the conclusion that the line to be drawn is, where the Antique finishes, and the Life begins...²².

Wilson elaborated on this point by suggesting that a new Life Class should operate under the complete control of the RSA once the TA forfeited its own Life Class. It was also brought forward that the best students of the TA should be submitted to the RSA Life Class after selection.²³ Finally, Wilson suggested that, as the TA was the only Academy of its type and thus occupying an 'isolated position', it should be integrated into the Department of Science and Art, citing the recent success of School of Art in Dublin with the Department in support of this.²⁴ The TA was henceforth renamed as the Trustees' School of Art.

This was a serious blow to the Board of Manufactures and the masters of the TA. By 1858, the Academy had been successfully functioning as a prestigious school, with autonomy over its curriculum and staff appointments. The removal of the Life Academy signaled a significant pedagogical loss and exchange of power with its rival and removed study from 'nature', identified as an essential component of students' study from the 1820s. It thus represented the demise of the TA's unique identity in Scotland due to its offering of progressive and innovative teaching methods in the Antique and Life Academies. Understandably the Board attempted to exert its remaining authority by objecting to the RSA's use of a Life Room in the Royal Institution, as per the suggestion of the *Treasury Minute*.²⁵ Primrose, the Board's Secretary, wrote that

This room has hitherto been, both a Life Room and an Exhibition room... Such a combination could only be allowed to exist with one authority in charge, viz, the Board... Hence a daily forced removal of draperies and other artistic combinations for study, extremely difficult to replace again in the same position; hence a compulsory ejection of the students, and withdrawal of their easels, however earnestly they desire to finish their studies; and numerous other indications of power over this matter, which the Board could easily exercise when supreme, but could not possibly share with the

²² *Treasury Minute* reproduced in the Board of Manufactures' Minute Book, dated 25 February 1858, entry for 8 March 1858, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/41 (NAS), 328.

²³ *Ibid*, 329.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 323.

²⁵ 26 April 1858, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/41 (NAS), 351–352. This was discussed by the 'Committee on the *Treasury Minute* of 25th February 1858 on National Gallery, Edinburgh, 20th March 1858' and then related to the Board. Present at the Board meeting was Sir William Gibson Craig (Chair), The Lord Justice General (McNeill), Lord Murray, Sir John Watson Gordon, Andrew Coventry and D.O. Hill.

Academy, nor delegate to them their responsibility in relaxation to the room as an Exhibition Room to the Public.²⁶

It was then agreed that the Board should hand over the Life Room 'perfectly empty' to the RSA, with Lauder claiming the Albacini busts for the Antique Academy.²⁷ The Board underlined the seriousness of the loss of the TA's Life School, and they suggested that a guarantee should be negotiated that would ensure that the RSA would establish a Life School, and that Trustees' School of Art students would be considered for admission. In the RSA's failure to establish or continue a Life School, the Board agreed that it would have permission to resume the TA's former Life Academy.²⁸ It was finally settled between the Board of Manufactures and the RSA that a Life Room and Lecture Room would be added to the National Gallery building for the RSA's use.²⁹

The constitution of the RSA's new Life School (1859–1911) was guided by a *Report* authored by Drummond, Paton and Archer.³⁰ Lauder was initially asked to act as a Visitor for the RSA Life Room; unsurprisingly, he declined. Archer was appointed in his place. In Lauder's absence, the *Report* outlined methods in contrast to those outlined by the TA in the 1850s. Driven in particular by Paton's own approach, the *Report* stressed the importance of form, and the inherent link between the antique and life. His artistic philosophies, to a significant degree, echoed those of Reynolds as he recommended the study 'not of what is called Realistic Art alone, but also of the highest Ideal Art...'³¹. Paton's belief about the primacy of line and the superiority of the antique was manifested in his own paintings; his figures are static and sculptural, luminescent in their whiteness.³² Although he was the foremost Scottish artist to use the nude model after David Scott, he

²⁶ 9 August 1858, 'IV. The Affiliation of the School of Design', *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/41 (NAS), 431–433.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 433–434.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 434–435.

²⁹ 25 October 1858, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/41 (NAS), 499–501. See Soden, *op. cit.*, 231–232, for discussion on the modifications the RSA ordered for the new Life Room.

³⁰ See J. N. Paton, J. Drummond & J. Archer, *Report by the Visitors on the mode of conducting the School of the Living Model*. See 23 May 1853 and 23 July 1855, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/49 (NAS), 139 and 389–390 and 6 July 1857, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/41 (NAS), 231–232. Other judges included Lord Wood, Sir John Watson Gordon, John Steell, James Drummond and George Harvey.

³¹ "Sir Noel Paton on the study of art", *The Architect*, 5 December 1874, 303–304 from Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826–1910", 174.

³² Lindsay Errington, 'Subversion in the Sculpture Gallery: An education experiment at the Trustees' Academy', *The Journal of the History of Collections*, 3:2 (1991), 289. 'It is this innate feeling for form that gives the classical grace to his figures, for which nearly all his works are distinguished.' Alfred Thomas Story, "The Life and Work of Sir Joseph Noel Paton, Her Majesty's Limner for Scotland," *The Art Journal*, 1895, 125.

escaped accusations of impropriety through the classicised nature of his figures.³³ A biographer of Paton's later wrote:

Had Sir Noel Paton devoted himself more exclusively to sculpture, it might have been that on the marble he would have found a more ready outlet for the eminently sympathetic characteristics of his mind and the poetic refinement of his hand.³⁴

Paton's *The Reconciliation of Oberon and Titania* (fig 4.40) shows its debts to classical sculpture and the primacy of line; the torso of Oberon is modelled on the *Apollo Belvedere*. Lauder's method of arranging statues and life models in groups was now abandoned in the RSA Life Room in favour of tonal single figure study. Practical teaching, guided by the Visitors to the Life Room, focused on drawing first, with emphasis on 'anatomical construction and motion, essential form and character.'³⁵ Lauder had nurtured individualism and realism, urging each student to move quickly from the elementary stages of his lessons. He had encouraged them to begin working on a 'picture of some kind' from an early stage in their education. Additionally he had been an advocate of the vibrant use of colour. The development of the use of colour in the work of the students of the 1850s was due to Lauder's championing of Venetian colour, but it was also part of the TA's tradition, related to Wilkie's later style³⁶, cemented by the introduction of the TA's Colour Class in 1837. In the RSA Life School, Paton, Archer and Drummond outlined their preference for the male nude, which was in sharp contrast to TA and national life modelling patterns.³⁷ Paton had been involved in aspects of the former TA's programmes, including acting as a judge for the prize list for the Antique and Life Schools during the 1850s which would have made the RSA's indictment of Lauder's methods all the more galling. Indeed, Lauder reacted badly to the RSA's *Report*, interpreting its findings as a personal attack on his teaching methods

He is wild at the new system they (Drummond, Paton, Archer) are going to begin in the Life-class (open after the New Year). He feels that their rigorous drawing, and inattention in the meantime to colour, implies that his system has been all wrong. Oh! he is wild.³⁸

³³ Smith, *Exposed: The Victorian Nude*, 16. Also see Anon, 'The Nude in Statuary', *The Art Journal*, September 1851, 227.

³⁴ George R Halkett, 'Sir Joseph Noel Paton, R.S.A., LL.D, Her Majesty's Limner for Scotland', *The Magazine of Art*, January 1880, 6.

³⁵ Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910."

³⁶ Tromans, *David Wilkie: Painter of Everyday Life*, 25-26. Wilkie departed for his Grand Tour in 1835 and he investigated the 'great colourists of the sixteenth century, Titian and Correggio.' Tromans adds that Wilkie 'became the centre of an alternative cultish revivalism among some young men in Rome, promoting a "scale of colour very different from the modern practice."'

³⁷ Ibid, 231. 'Overall, men were used more frequently than women, the general proportion being around two-thirds male to one-third female.' See Appendix V. Also see Postle and Vaughan, *The Artist's Model: From Etty to Spencer*, 55-63.

³⁸ Caw, *William McTaggart, R.S.A., V.P.R.S.W.: a Biography and an Appreciation*, 22.

The Trustees' School of Art and other Art School Developments

The Trustees' School of Art began its classes in the Royal Institution building, with Lauder teaching sixteen hours per week. The male classes were held on Monday, Wednesday and Friday between 8–10am and 6–8pm, and the female class on Tuesday and Thursdays from 1–3pm.³⁹ During the transfer of the TA to the Trustees' School of Art, Lauder was instructed to focus on the 'Department's [of Science and Art] system of severe anatomical study' and that the 'Director of the Antique must...[turn] his whole attention to the Class of Antique'⁴⁰ by continuing to use the excellent cast collection amassed by the Board of Manufactures throughout the early nineteenth century. The cast collection once again proved to be a significant educational advantage for the School above other institutions in Edinburgh; the Board used this advantage to its own ends, which caused further friction with the RSA.⁴¹ Christie also continued as a master, teaching the male class only for eighteen hours per week.⁴² Male students entered the Trustees' School of Art via the Princes Street entrance where an officer was stationed in the entrance hall (fig 6.2) to note attendance and answer enquiries. Drawing from the Antique took place in the Great Room and the South Octagon; the north and south rooms were used as classrooms for design.⁴³ The Trustees' School of Art was sub-managed by a School of Art Committee, which was overseen by the Board of Manufactures. The Committee was composed of Board members, RSA artists and associates and Trustees' School of Art staff, although the Department of Science and Art oversaw the *modus operandi* of the School.⁴⁴

Cole's grand vision for the Department of Practical Art was based on the foundation of a Central Training School and museum, with students from the provincial Schools learning

³⁹ 13 September 1858, 'On the mode of carrying into effect the Affiliation of the School of Design in Edinburgh with the Department of Science & Arts', *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/41 (NAS), 466. Although Lauder taught two hours less each week, his income increased due to the additional five percent of funds raised by fees. His salary increased to £215 per annum.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 464–465. Lauder's length of tenure at the Trustees' School of Art post-1858, combined with his ill health and dissatisfaction regarding the curriculum, meant that his teaching impact was not duly noted.

⁴¹ Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910", 187 and 197. In 1875, Paton tried again to enhance the role of the Antique for the RSA. When applications were made for study from the antique (from the RSA to the Board of Manufactures), the Board believed that the RSA was 'trying to get a foothold in its own School.'

⁴² 13 September 1858, 'On the mode of carrying into effect the Affiliation of the School of Design in Edinburgh with the Department of Science & Arts', *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/41 (NAS), 464–465. Christie worked nine hours less than at the TA, although received the same salary as Lauder at £215 each year.

⁴³ Gordon, *The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture & Architecture, 1826-1976*, 119. The female students entered the Royal Institution building through the south door (opposite the National Gallery).

⁴⁴ In January of 1870, the Committee was chaired by Board member Robert Horn; also present was the artist Sir George Harvey, Francis Abbott Esq, Board member and Librarian of The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Hodder as Headmaster, the Second Master and the Art Mistress. See 12 January 1870, *Minute Book of the School of Art Committee* (ECA), Vol II, 4.

elementary design and – he hoped – these Schools would feed students back to the Central Training School.⁴⁵ Since his appointment as General Superintendent in 1852, Cole had introduced huge changes to the system of government-funded art education. He moved the Department of Practical Art to Marlborough House and removed The Elementary Drawing Class from Somerset House to Great Smith Street in London (reopened as the Elementary Drawing School). Furthermore, he renamed the Central School the 'Metropolitan School of Ornament for Males', with a training class for art teachers housed there, and moved the Female School of Design to Marlborough House from Gower Street.⁴⁶ Cole's whirlwind of educational reforms, together with the pedagogical methods he implemented, was popularly referred to as the 'South Kensington System'; the name derived from the relocation of the Department of Science and Art to its new site on ground adjoining Brompton Oratory in South Kensington. The Central School moved to its new purpose-designed building in 1864 where it was renamed as the National Art Training School.⁴⁷

Contrary to the Board of Manufactures' prior emphasis on producing designs for manufactures, Cole and Redgrave's approach was to educate the student in drawing rather than design, with the regional Schools of Design scheduling 'night classes' specifically for artisans rather than structuring the course around design for manufactures.⁴⁸ Redgrave's vision for the *National Course of Instruction* was based on the premise that good drawing could be taught first by means of imitation, or through a mixture of 'grammar of ornament, linear geometry, botany, chemistry, and the history of design.'⁴⁹ He believed that good design could be taught similarly to a language by mastering the 'grammar, and then the syntax.'⁵⁰ Redgrave designed the *National Course of Instruction* on the same principles, implementing a tiered, systemised approach that encompassed 23 stages, further divided into subsections. Stages 1–10 comprised the Drawing Course (beginning with linear drawing with the aid of mechanical instruments); the Painting Course was from Stages 11–17, the Design Course from Stages 18–21 and the Modelling Course from Stages 22–23.

⁴⁵ Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*, 158.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Frayling et al., *The Royal College of Art: One Hundred & Fifty Years of Art & Design*, 46 and 48.

⁴⁸ Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*, 158 and 176. Under Cole, the branch Schools of Design were also renamed as the 'Schools of Practical Art' and they were now to focus on 'Elementary Drawing.'

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Frayling et al., *The Royal College of Art: One Hundred & Fifty Years of Art & Design*, 37–38, 42. Redgrave's theories on design had been developed in his earlier post in 1847 as Botany Master at the Central School of Design, and it anticipates the learned and methodical element in the later renamed Department of Science and Art. It was there that he stressed the systematic study of botany to the ornamentalist; this approach had been prevalent in Dyce's theories and it had influenced the designer Christopher Dresser.

As Frayling has highlighted, the Course was designed so that Schools could extract the necessary elements for specific vocations, from machinists to designers.⁵¹

In order for Trustees' School of Art students to progress to the RSA's Life Class, it was decided that they should have obtained a bronze medal in the figure stages 8 or 9 of the *National Course of Instruction*.⁵² The medals scheme of the 'South Kensington system' came from the ethos of payment on results; that is, the Department's inspectors awarded medals when they made their yearly visits to the Government Schools of Art, and the best entries were sent to London for the National Competition. Cole's scheme of payment on results was instituted in 1863, and the medals scheme assumed great importance as an incentive. Moreover, the headmaster of the school was rewarded financially for the most medals given to the school.⁵³ Within the set *National Course of Instruction*, the Trustees' School of Art excelled within the first ten years of its institution. In 1866 the School was awarded the most medals of the numerous Schools of Design in Britain and Ireland, and the total had reached almost 180 by 1884.⁵⁴ For the 1867-68 session it was awarded yet more medals, notably two silver medals for drawings from the antique and anatomy.⁵⁵ In the same session, Charles Hodder was awarded the highest bonus from the Department of Science and Art for 'very satisfactory results produced in the male school.'⁵⁶

In terms of the work made by Trustees' School of Art students, two later drawings by student John A. Henderson Tarbet (1864–1937) demonstrate that the School, as led by Hodder, was focusing on the end stages of the *National Course of Instruction*. Tarbet's shaded cast study of the *Laocoön Group* (fig 6.3) is from Stage 6 from the nine stages of the *Drawing Course*, whereas the *Anatomical study of a skeleton within an outline of Cleomene's Orator* (fig 6.4) is from the final stage of the *Drawing Course*.⁵⁷ In continuation of the TA tradition, the Board of Manufactures also continued to award its own annual premiums, totaling £32 in 1870, and these were divided between the best examples from the Female Section and the Male Section, the latter being judged for work

⁵¹ Ibid, 41. Designers, for example, were required to complete the full course, although Stage 19 and stage (a) of 2, 3, 4 and 23 were not included.

⁵² Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*.196.

⁵³ Ibid, 196-198.

⁵⁴ Sheehy, "The Flight from South Kensington: British Artists at the Antwerp Academy 1877-1885", 124. Anon., 'Edinburgh School of Art', *The Caledonian Mercury*, 27 January 1866, issue 23892, 3.

⁵⁵ Anon, 'Edinburgh School of Art: Distribution of Prizes', *The Scotsman*, 23 January 1869, 7.

⁵⁶ Anon, 'Edinburgh School of Art: Distribution of Prizes', *The Scotsman*, 23 January 1869, 7.

⁵⁷ See Appendix III. There are few catalogued examples of students' work made in the Trustees' School of Art, although some drawings are held by the RSA. Thanks to Joanna Soden for bringing these drawings to my attention.

in the Antique and for Ornament respectively.⁵⁸ The premiums were awarded for advanced work within the curriculum. Of the nine stages of the Drawing Course, female students won prizes for work at Stage 8, and for the Painting Course, prizes were won for work at Stage 14 (the course ended at Stage 17). Stage 14 was noted as a 'favourite with advanced Ladies' Classes' as female students, at this point, were permitted to paint flowers, 'objects of natural beauty' or landscapes in colour and from nature.⁵⁹ This step, more than halfway through the curriculum, represented the student's first chance to work in colour from nature. This was in sharp contrast to Lauder's approach where he encouraged his students to begin work on a painting in the early stages of his education. Moreover, Lauder encouraged his students to learn from examples of progressive or modern artists, including Etty, Lewis and the Pre-Raphaelites.

Trustees' School of Art students were restrained by the curriculum from the outset due to its rigid and limiting nature, despite Hodder's early attempts to push students to its more advanced levels. In the first years after the foundation of the Trustees' School of Art, Lauder was aware that denying students access to 'nature' was detrimental to their educational progress, stating that 'the loss of the Life School had injured the Antique.'⁶⁰ In 1872, Mr Brown, an Advocate based in Edinburgh, complained of 'what he regarded as excessive Centralization produced by the Affiliation of the School with the Science and Art Department.'⁶¹ Common complaints about the 'South Kensington System' were related to the bureaucratic system of learning; there was no prescribed time limit on each stage of the *National Course of Instruction* as bemoaned by a student at the Trustees' School of Art

Fancy a student on two hours for three evenings a week during the best part of two sessions (ten months) working on one single figure drawing.... 'The Department' will not allow us to draw a group, nor even select a figure... willingly would the most of us return, were the teaching altered to what it was when Scott Lauder was the master.⁶²

By 1882, Hodder applied to the School of Art Committee for permission to introduce a 'Draped Life Model into the Male School for the purpose of making studies of "Casts of

⁵⁸ 12 January 1870, *Minute Book of the School of Art Committee* (ECA), Vol II, 5–6. Prizes were awarded in first, second and third places within the female division, and between four places for the male division. For the Female Section, this was judged in terms of the 'Best Shaded Drawing in Chalk or Monochrome from the Cast' and the 'Best Painting in Colour from Natural Objects; for the Male Section, judged categories included prizes 'For the Best Study of a Single Figure from the Antique, either in Chalk, Monochrome or Modelled', the 'Best Study in Colour from Nature', the 'Best Study in Shade from the Round', and for the 'Outline of a Cast.'

⁵⁹ See Appendix III.

⁶⁰ Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*, 36.

⁶¹ 28 February 1872, *Minute Book of the School of Art Committee* (ECA), Vol II, 14–15.

⁶² Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and his pupils*, 37.

Drapery &c.”⁶³ Emphasizing the shift of power from the 1850s from the Board and TA masters, it was Paton that was invited to the School of Art Committee meeting. There he ‘fully explained the advantages’ of the introduction a draped life model.⁶⁴ The draped male life model, for the male school, was intended to complement the study of antique casts rather than encouraging students to learn how to paint realistically in colour from life. This reinforces that the institution was an elementary drawing school that was dependent on the understanding of line and the antique, and indeed, that the days of the TA and RSA rivalry were long past.

Hodder’s application for a life model was also comparatively late in terms of UK and Continental developments. The Watt Institution, one of Scotland’s rising technical institutions⁶⁵, had begun a ‘Life and Nature Class’ and a ‘Draped Life Class’ in Edinburgh for men and women in 1879.⁶⁶ In terms of UK-wide education, the dominant private art school in London was the progressive Leigh’s School of Fine Art (thereafter known as the Heatherley School of Fine Art), founded in 1845, and it offered both men and women access to the life model.⁶⁷ By 1871, the Slade School of Art, part of University College London, was a strong contender to the RA. Founded with the bequest of Felix Slade, the School’s teaching ideology was consciously developed in complete contrast to the RA and the ‘South Kensington System’, both of which the Slade’s College Committee were very

⁶³ 10 July 1882, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, Edinburgh College of Art, 55.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ As we have seen with the foundation of the TA, from the eighteenth century, a number of European nations identified the need for provisions in artistic education to support changing industrial processes. Similar provisions did not exist in Britain at the RA or in terms of other centralised art institutions, although industrial colleges were being formed across the UK (prior to the Schools of Design) in the nineteenth century in order to provide ‘technical and general education for the industrial classes of both sexes.’ Bell, *The Schools of Design*, 26. See Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*, 29-30. See also Arthur Elford, “School Art and Its Social Origins,” *Studies in Art Education* 24, no. 3 (1983), 3. Elizabeth Cumming, *Hand, Heart and Soul: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2006). Scottish technical colleges formed in the second half of the nineteenth century included Anderson’s Institute (later University), Glasgow; Gray’s School of Art, Aberdeen; Dundee’s Technical Institute (today the Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art) and the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College.

⁶⁶ *Calendar and Syllabus of Lectures, &c., of the Watt Institution and School of Fine Arts for Session 1878-79* (Edinburgh: Mould and Tod, 1879), 8. The Watt Institution had been founded in 1821 with the purpose of functioning as a Mechanics’ Institution, much along the lines of Anderson’s Institution in Glasgow. With the original intention of improving the education of men in industry by focusing on chemistry and mechanical or natural philosophy, the Institute gradually evolved to meet the needs of its students, and the curriculum increased to include mathematics, mechanical drawing, English Literature, the art of composition, and French and German. ‘Objects and Origin and Progress of the Institution’, *Heriot-Watt College Calendar for Session 1902-1903*, Heriot-Watt University archives, 297. For an in-depth discussion of private art classes and schools in Scotland see Soden, “Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910”, 310-317.

⁶⁷ The RA was conservative regarding its admissions policy of female students. The artist Laura Herford was mistakenly accepted as a male student in 1860 because she signed her probationary drawing ‘L. Herford.’ Only in the 1890s were women were granted permission to draw from the male draped model in the RA. Postle, “The Foundation of the Slade School of Fine Art: Fifty-Nine Letters in the Record Office of University College, London”, 224.

critical of.⁶⁸ It proposed a comprehensive system of study in terms of working with the other departments of the University to supplement the students' artistic education.⁶⁹ Above all, the Slade championed the study of life. The artist Edward Poynter (fig 6.5) had studied at Heatherley's, the RA and in the *atelier* of Charles Gleyre in Paris.⁷⁰ He was offered and accepted the post of the first Slade Professor of Fine Art. In an echo of the College Committee's pedagogical ethos, Poynter, in his lecture 'Systems of Art Education', stated that:

I shall impress but one lesson upon the students, that constant study from the life-model is the only means they have of arriving at a comprehension of the beauty in nature... which I take to be the whole aim and end of study.⁷¹

Of its period, the Slade gained the reputation for being the most advanced of British art institutions. Women worked beside men in classes (fig 6.6), and they were accepted into the life class, with the option of studying from the half-draped model.⁷² The Slade was a private, fee-charging art school. It was affordable for middle class students based in London – hence its popularity with female artists – although it was often cheaper for regional art school students to travel and study on the Continent.⁷³

Moreover, by the later nineteenth century, provincial Schools of Design had begun to cultivate individual identities that were intertwined with the development of the Arts and Crafts Movement. This was in part due to the appointment of Poynter as Director of Art and Principal of the National Art Training School in 1875 and his emphasis on a more creative approach to the curriculum.⁷⁴ It also owed to the Headmasters of individual schools, having come through the National Art Training School. The appointment of Richard Henry Albert Willis at the Manchester School of Design saw the School excel through his focus on the fine art elements of the curriculum. He also established a

⁶⁸ Ibid, 140.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 142-143.

⁷⁰ P.G. Hamerton, "Edward J. Poynter R.A.," *The Portfolio: An Artistic Periodical*, January 1877, 12.

⁷¹ Edward J. Poynter, RA, 'Lecture III: Systems of Art Education', *Lectures on Art* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1885), 107. Poynter pushed the 'South Kensington' curriculum towards fine art training as more students of the Schools were aiming to become artists. However, it should be noted that Poynter also had an interest in design and the decorative arts which meant that he had strong-held beliefs in theory and in practice. See Frayling et al., *The Royal College of Art: One Hundred & Fifty Years of Art & Design*, 53-54.

⁷² It is worth noting that women in the Female School of Design in London, part of the Department of Practical Art, had excelled under the tutelage of Fanny McIan. It was deemed necessary to introduce a second prize list so that the Female School did not win them all. See Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*, 134-135. Moreover, as a result of the Slade's more liberal policies towards women's position in art education, particularly in relation to studying from the life model, middle class female students outnumbered male students in the early years of its inception. Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists* (London: The Women's Press, 1987), 52.

⁷³ Sheehy, "The Flight from South Kensington: British Artists at the Antwerp Academy 1877-1885", 126.

⁷⁴ Frayling et al., *The Royal College of Art: One Hundred & Fifty Years of Art & Design*, 53. Cole retired in 1873, and Redgrave retired in 1875.

modelling class and encouraged students to form a Sketching Club⁷⁵, which emphasized the importance of natural observation. In 1888, the influential artist and Arts and Crafts advocate Walter Crane was the School's guest speaker and he gave emphasis on the assimilation of art and craft ideals.⁷⁶ Similarly in Glasgow, the tenure of Fra Newbery (previously a student of the National Art Training School in London) as the headmaster of the Glasgow School of Art from 1885 marked the evolution of a new decorative arts style that became associated specifically with Glasgow. Influenced by the theories of the educationalist, Friedrich Fröebel, Newbery developed an approach that enabled students to work to their individual strengths; he believed that drawing 'from the flat' stifled development.⁷⁷ Moreover, he developed links between local art galleries and technical schools, organised lectures by William Morris and Walter Crane, and promoted his students' work through exhibitions.⁷⁸

Given the strides taking place in British art education in the 1870s and 1880s it is evident that the Trustees' School of Art was severely lagging behind both government and private schools. Future 'Glasgow Boy' Edward Atkinson Hornel (1864–1933) was dissatisfied with the rigidity of the School's curriculum when he left after three years' training, seeking 'a period of *proper* training' at the Antwerp Academy in Belgium.⁷⁹ For serious artists, art training beyond the Trustees' School of Art was essential.⁸⁰ Most students travelled to the *ateliers* of Paris, although a number of art students from Scotland, England and Ireland – 'the naturalist generation'⁸¹ – travelled to Antwerp as an alternative.⁸² At the Antwerp Academy, Hornel studied under the Professor of Painting, Charles Verlat (1824–1890). Verlat's approach was described in 1887 (in contrast to that of the 'South Kensington System'):

⁷⁵ Jeremiah, *School of Art: A Hundred Years and More*, 26.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 26–28. The links with the Arts & Crafts movement and the Manchester School were fostered through a donation of William Morris patterns for fabrics and wallpapers. Furthermore, the influence of the new headmaster Richard Glazier, Charles Rowley and deputy master Henry Cadness is attributed to the emphasis on crafts in the 1890s. For a discussion national identities in relation to the Arts & Crafts movement, see Alan Crawford, "The Disunited Kingdom of the Arts and Crafts," *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History: The Arts and Crafts Movement; Patrick Geddes in France* 9 (2004).

⁷⁷ Rawson in MacKenzie, *The Flower and the Green Leaf*, 20.

⁷⁸ Roger Billcliffe, 'Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Glasgow Style' from *Mackintosh and the Glasgow Style*, exhibition catalogue, (Calif.: Solvang, Artist Inc, 2000), 176. Cumming, *Hand, Heart and Soul: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland*, 33. In particular, Newbery was involved with the 1888 International Exhibition in Glasgow; he also organised the Arts and Crafts exhibition at the Queen's Rooms in 1895.

⁷⁹ Bill Smith, *Hornel: The Life & Work of Edward Atkinson Hornel* (Edinburgh: Atelier Books, 1997), 18.

⁸⁰ Sheehy, "The Flight from South Kensington: British Artists at the Antwerp Academy 1877–1885", 125.

⁸¹ Jeanne Sheehy, "The Irish at Antwerp," *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 10 (1994), 164.

⁸² His influence was so profound that the Academy became known simply as 'Verlat's'.

“Forward, forward,” is the device of the Antwerp Academy. Get something done. They have no room there for idlers, shirkers, elegant amateurs. Stippling, niggling, dawdling are unknown. Go to your task in a big, grand way.⁸³

The Scott Lauder Legacy and Naturalism

Unlike the generation of students that studied at the Trustees' School of Art, the students of Scott Lauder are unique due to their comparative lack of travel or study on the Continent.⁸⁴ Lauder's students can generally be divided into two categories: those that left for London and made their careers in history, fancy and modern life painting – including Orchardson, Pettie and Graham – and those that remained in Scotland and focused on rural subjects, including McTaggart and Chalmers. Of the first group, the most senior and revered of Lauder's students amongst his peers, Orchardson, arrived in London in 1862, with Pettie and Graham soon following. Orchardson and Pettie in particular found financial and academic success in London with both artists later elected as Royal Academicians.⁸⁵ Despite both artists embarking on historical subjects that do not always owe thematically to the Scottish canon (fig 6.7), the influence of the Scottish School was felt in each artist's approach, from composition to painterly treatment. As Hardie noted, Pettie was interested in the moment of dramatic action, and he was ‘powerfully affected by the novels of Scott, by his richness of romance and stirring incident, his masterly portrayal of character, his glow of life and colour...’.⁸⁶ Scott's novels also inspired Orchardson, with *The Queen of Swords* (fig 6.8) depicting a scene from *The Pirate*, first published in 1822. In terms of its composition, it references Wilkie's *The Penny Wedding* (fig 6.9) through the use of carefully placed groups of standing and seated figures.⁸⁷

The sketching club established by Lauder's ‘boys’ in Edinburgh was also revived in London. Artists met on Monday evenings in Orchardson's rooms and the group included a ‘good mixture of Scotch and English elements.’⁸⁸ The purpose of the club was to ‘embody some motive, to give full expression to some one idea, to point to a moral, or adorn a

⁸³ J.H.E. Partington, “South Kensington and the Antwerp Academy,” *British Architect*, 27:2, 1887, 30.

⁸⁴ Irwin and Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900*, 338–339. Also see Saskia Pütz, ‘British Art Students and German Masters: W.B. Spence and the Reform of German Art Academies’ from Potter, *The Concept of the “Master” in Art Education in Britain and Ireland, 1770 to the Present*, 81. She notes that ‘around the middle of the nineteenth century, a great many British students went to art academies not only in France but also in Germany for their artistic training.’

⁸⁵ Armstrong, *The Art of William Quiller Orchardson*, 17; Hilda Orchardson Gray, *The Life of Sir William Quiller Orchardson* (London: Hutchinson, 1930), 51.

⁸⁶ Hardie, “John Pettie R.A., H.R.S.A.,” *Art Journal*, April 1907, 110.

⁸⁷ Errington, *Sir William Quiller Orchardson, 1832-1910*, 10, catalogue entry 7.

⁸⁸ Gray, *The Life of Sir William Quiller Orchardson*, 62.

tale.'⁸⁹ The attempt to encapsulate an idea rather than draw an accurate sketch is once again reminiscent of Lauder's approach. Lauder sought to express the overall effect of colour, mood or action, rather than focus on historic details. His student, Robert Herdman, reiterated this sentiment in a drafted speech for the Trustees' School of Art prizegiving in 1888

Be as strong in your individuality as you can be... Instead of divorcing the aesthetic side of art from the interest of its underlying subject we should endeavour to make them one organic whole, so that the sensuous charm may be felt, as it were, the natural and vital atmosphere of the worthy conception.⁹⁰

Yet it is Lauder's students' feeling for form that unites their artistic methods and emphasizes the group's naturalistic approach. This was guided by the principle of lights and darks that had been taught in the Antique and Life Academies; that 'the shadows in good Venetian pictures are as warm and luminous as the lights.'⁹¹ As we have seen, Lauder directed his students towards Venetian chiaroscuro through his teaching methods and through exposure to other artistic sources, including Etty and J.F. Lewis. When Orchardson was asked which was 'the greatest of all artists', he replied 'Titian.'⁹² John Ruskin later singled Pettie out for criticism in 1875 due to the artist's use of chiaroscuro (fig 6.10), the Venetian School representing 'licentious' qualities in Ruskin's view.⁹³ Contemporaneously in Glasgow a new group of painters, to be called the 'Glasgow Boys' was formulating its new approach to painting.⁹⁴ Although the 'Boys' decried the 'gluepots' of Scottish art, Lauder's legacy, through his students, is considered to have directly

⁸⁹ Hardie, "John Pettie R.A., H.R.S.A.", 108. The representation of detail and the aim to paint the overall effect were not mutually exclusive. Orchardson, for example, often set the tone of his paintings through composition and colour, yet he paid close attention to detail: 'Facts have a powerful fascination for him. Look, for instance, at the heap of maps in his *Napoleon of St. Helena*. These were painted from a set actually prepared for the 1803 campaign in Germany.' See Armstrong, *The Art of William Quiller Orchardson*, 73. Orchardson, *St Helena, 1816: Napoleon Dictating to Count Las Cases the Account of his Campaigns*, 1892, oil on canvas, 125cm x 204cm, National Museums, Liverpool. Lauder's students continued to draw from life, and Orchardson and Pettie regularly drew from the model Joe Wall in London, favoured by Landseer and Frith. Hardie, "John Pettie R.A., H.R.S.A.", 104. Herdman, noted down the names, addresses and characteristics of his life models, for example: 'Thomas Sinclair, c/o Mrs Thom, 83 Rose Street (a proudish looking, brown-bearded fellow – do for fisherman etc.) Lindsay Errington, *Robert Herdman 1829–1888* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1988), 9.

⁹⁰ Errington, *Robert Herdman 1829–1888*, 17–18.

⁹¹ Armstrong, *The Art of William Quiller Orchardson*, 36.

⁹² Gray, *The Life of Sir William Quiller Orchardson*, 121.

⁹³ John Ruskin, *Notes of Some of the Principal Pictures exhibited in the Rooms of the Royal Academy 1875* (Kent and London: George Allen and Ellis and White, 1875) cited in Hardie, "John Pettie R.A., H.R.S.A.", 112.

⁹⁴ It is pertinent to highlight that the Glasgow Boys were not conceived of as a group but initially formed in 'waves' of associated artists painting in a unified style. For example, the 'first wave' comprised James Paterson and William Young Macgregor who had both studied at the Glasgow School of Art and became acquainted there. The group was recognisable from c.1880–1895. Irwin and Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700–1900*, 372.

impacted on the stylistic formation of artists in the group.⁹⁵ James Guthrie visited London in 1879 and became the pupil of Pettie, and he also became acquainted with Orchardson. Pettie encouraged Guthrie to work from nature and to be aware of the effects of light and colour. The use of rich complementary colours can be seen in Guthrie's early work *A Gallant of the Terror* (fig 6.11). Guthrie then settled in southeast Scotland in 1883. As Morrison highlights, Pettie had spent his childhood in East Linton, although William Darling McKay (1844–1924) (fig 6.12), the influential Scottish painter of east coast rural scenes, was also attracting a 'school' of artists to the area. Morrison has also highlighted that a contemporary belief existed which linked the 'Boys' thematically to the naturalist art of George Reid and Chalmers.⁹⁶ McKay then later described the definitive naturalistic approach that unified the Lauder School

With the pupils of Lauder there is less of the broad and simple fusion of the great masters of the past, and a manner is used which has, I think, been partly dictated by the keener search after verisimilitude, rendered necessary by the realistic mid-century movement.⁹⁷

He added that Lauder's students all used 'broken colour, and this is more likely to have come to them... through the numerous fine works of the pre-Raphaelite [sic] school, which were shown at the Scottish Academy during the fifties.'⁹⁸ Broken colour is the method of painting 'one colour into another on the canvas, instead of mixing them together on the palette; breaking one into the other loosely so that the two colours, if looked at with a magnifying glass, would be seen to exist separately...'.⁹⁹ Orchardson's daughter noted his admiration for Millais when he said that he 'understands the technique of painting, that he uses his medium, the actual paintings, in a proper manner.'¹⁰⁰ Although the Pre-Raphaelites did not use broken colour, they did apply pure primary colour directly to the canvas in an approach that was entirely modern for its period. The students of Lauder responded to the Pre-Raphaelites use of bold colour in a moderated way through painterly strokes of visible complementary colours (figs 5.20, 6.13), although McTaggart in particular liked to apply sections of undulated bright colour to his paintings (5.19).

The lasting effect of Lauder's lessons was felt more quickly in Scotland, particularly

⁹⁵ Roger Bilcliffe, *The Glasgow Boys*, 2nd ed. (London: Frances Lincoln Ltd, 2008), 20. Frank Rinder, "James Guthrie, P.R.S.A.," *The Art Journal*, May 1911, 143. See Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 175.

⁹⁶ Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 177.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 113–114.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Harold Speed, *Oil Painting Techniques and Materials* (N.Y.: Dover, 1987), 121. The principal was that 'broken colour' mixed optically for the viewer from a distance, but on closer inspection the separate colours were visible.

¹⁰⁰ Gray, *The Life of Sir William Quiller Orchardson*, 121.

through McTaggart and Chalmers in the RSA Life Room.¹⁰¹ McTaggart had begun to develop his own style by rendering form through light and colour rather than minute detail,¹⁰² and this was evident in McTaggart's painting *Spring* (fig 5.19) where he relates the children

...atmospherically, physically, and emotionally to a piece of countryside... more effective is his use of separate touches of paint to break across the boundaries between figures, meadow, background and sky, suggesting that the same light envelopes them all and merges them together.¹⁰³

Despite McTaggart's original approach, at this point in his oeuvre, his movement towards to *plein-airism* had not been fully realised. He sketched the composition 'from nature' (fig 6.14), emphasizing tonal values in the sketch, although he worked up the painting in his studio.¹⁰⁴ McTaggart's new technique was considered to be radical as his contemporaries discussed his 'lack of finish.'¹⁰⁵ Of all of Lauder's students, McTaggart's mature work was the most technically innovative due to his move away from chiaroscuro to pure, broken colour (fig 6.15). In Scottish art of the second half of the nineteenth century, the movement towards new techniques of painting and rural naturalist subjects was not an isolated one. As we have seen, the RSA artist George Reid had studied with the Hague School artist Gerrit Alexander Mollinger via John Forbes White, an influential and progressive patron of Dutch and Scottish artists. Jennifer Melville has shown that the stylistic and painterly development of both Chalmers and McTaggart significantly owed to the influence of White, particularly in the goal of capturing the '*impression* of the moment.'¹⁰⁶ Reid and White had developing a style of rural painting that owed to European realism in its expression of '*tonalité*', which was

...the gamut of tonic values... You may transpose nature from one key to another... But your key once chose, you must stick to it till the picture is finished.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910", 248-249.

¹⁰² Kvaerne, *Singing Songs of the Scottish Heart: William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 71.

¹⁰³ Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*, 73, catalogue entry 53.

¹⁰⁴ Errington, *William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 35-36. McTaggart's new technique has been attributed to the influence of the Scottish landscape artists Alexander Fraser Junior and Sam Bough, both of whom exhibited regularly in the RSA in the 1860s and both men used *plein air* approaches. Kvaerne, *Singing Songs of the Scottish Heart: William McTaggart, 1835-1910*, 66.

¹⁰⁵ Anon, "William McTaggart, R.S.A.: A Biography and Appreciation," *The Scotsman*, 5 December 1917, 5.

¹⁰⁶ John Forbes White, *G. Paul Chalmers*, (Edinburgh: 1879), 49, cited in Jennifer Melville, "John Forbes White and George Reid: Artists and Patrons in North-East Scotland 1860-1920" (University of Edinburgh, 2000), 121.

¹⁰⁷ Veri Vindex (George Reid and John Forbes White), "Thoughts on Art, and Notes on the Exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy of 1868." (Edinburgh: sine nomine, 1868), 50-51 cited in Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 156.

By 1869 both McTaggart and Chalmers were asked to become Visitors for the RSA's Life School¹⁰⁸; a morning class had recently been scheduled following a petition from the students.¹⁰⁹ McTaggart was formulating his own approach in the 1860s to painting from nature; for *Enoch Arden* (fig 6.16), he 'placed his little models upon a load of sand spread on the floor' of his studio.¹¹⁰ His approach in the RSA Life Room was entirely different to the emphasis on drawing put forward by Paton, Archer and Drummond.¹¹¹ McTaggart encouraged students to look for the 'essential character' through 'the motive supplied by the model'¹¹² as taught by Lauder and continued by his 'Boys' in their sketching club. Moreover, McTaggart's loose, painterly handling and understanding of colour¹¹³ was to have the biggest impact on the RSA Life School. The RSA Council recorded an 'immediate and decided advance in the quality of the work done' and an 'appreciation for the feeling of colour displayed' in the work of students under McTaggart's tenure.¹¹⁴ Similarly to Orchardson's seniority in Lauder's class, McTaggart also believed that younger students learned from 'fellows' more so than masters.¹¹⁵

Other influential RSA Visitors also encouraged similar lessons to McTaggart, including John McLaren Barclay (from 1873) and McKay (from 1886), and the legacy of these men was passed to younger generations. Robert Gemmell Hutchison (1855–1936) studied at the Trustees' School of Art, yet he was 'deeply indebted to J. Campbell Noble, R.S.A., for all the hints, advice, suggestions, and all the valuable help received from that artist.'¹¹⁶ The artist referred to is James Campbell Noble (fig 6.17), and he had studied under McTaggart at the RSA.¹¹⁷ Above all, Gemmell Hutchison sought to paint 'childhood...What he [the artist] strives to express is something of human interest...'.¹¹⁸ (fig 6.18). This echoes

¹⁰⁸ Herdman acted as a stand-in Visitor in 1864 and was formally appointed in 1871. As Soden notes, this marked the 'baton' being passed to Lauder's alumnus. McTaggart served as a Visitor between 1871 and 1873 and 1876 and 1883 and Chalmers between 1872 and 1876. See Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910", 253.

¹⁰⁹ Caw, *William McTaggart, R.S.A., V.P.R.S.W.: A Biography and an Appreciation*, 57.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹¹¹ Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910."

¹¹² Caw, *William McTaggart, R.S.A., V.P.R.S.W.: A Biography and an Appreciation*, 86.

¹¹³ Soden attributes McTaggart's handling of paint more directly to the influence of J.F. Lewis where 'the brushwork remains visible.' Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910", 143.

¹¹⁴ Caw, *William McTaggart, R.S.A., V.P.R.S.W.: A Biography and an Appreciation*, 86.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹¹⁶ Gabriel Setoun, "R. Gemmell Hutchison, R.S.W., R.B.A.," *The Art Journal*, November 1900, 313.

¹¹⁷ Caw, *William McTaggart, R.S.A., V.P.R.S.W.: A Biography and an Appreciation*, 86. Other artists to continue the Lauder legacy include James Lawton Wingate, John H. Lorimer and Robert Noble.

¹¹⁸ Setoun, "R. Gemmell Hutchison, R.S.W., R.B.A.," 321.

McTaggart before him, who sought the 'fusion of environment with human understanding and compassion'¹¹⁹ (fig 6.19).

This chapter has explored the impact of the *Treasury Minute* and the subsequent pedagogical methods implemented at the Trustees' School of Art in the second half of the nineteenth century. Despite the efforts of its Headmaster, Hodder, it is clear that progression of a naturalism regime at the Trustees' School of Art was impossible due to the limited and rigid formation of the *National Course of Instruction*. Therefore the development of naturalism in Scotland owed to the collective of progressive Scottish artists in Scotland. In particular, the type of naturalism that evolved in Scotland corresponds more directly with Weisberg and Becker's definition as 'based upon the everyday lives of ordinary people and characterised by its focus on social reality...'.¹²⁰ It engaged with new techniques – broken colour and painterly treatment, as passed on via Lauder's legacy – and its emphasis was now on realistic subjects. In contrast to the 'South Kensington System', Lauder did not impose a uniform way of working and instead gave his students the tools to develop his own individual style. It is also evident that the development of 'naturalist' subjects and techniques in Scotland also owed to the influence of White, Reid, McKay and other influential RSA artists. White and Reid in particular were important for disseminating the lessons of the Hague School and of French Realism.

¹¹⁹ Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 168.

¹²⁰ Gabriel P. Weisberg et al., *Illusions of Reality: Naturalist Painting, Photography, Theatre and Cinema, 1875-1918* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2011), 13-16. As Weisberg has recognised with particular regard to French nineteenth-century painting, the terms Naturalist, realist and naturalism were all in usage, with realism and naturalism sometimes being interchangeable. Also see, for example: Richard Thomson, *Art of the Actual: Naturalism and Style in Early Third Republic France, 1880-1900* (New H: Yale University Press, 2012); Roger Billcliffe, *The Glasgow Boys: The Glasgow School of Painting 1875-189*.

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to examine the use of models in Scottish art, c.1800-1900, with particular reference to painting and the TA. In Scottish nineteenth-century figurative painting, previous discussions have tended to give prominence to particular artists, including Wilkie, or artists have been grouped according to historiographical patterns.¹ Moreover, given the TA's dominance as an institution, discussions related to its pedagogical influence related to the development of figurative painting have been surprisingly limited², particularly as gaining knowledge of the human form was an essential function of art education. This led to the primary research question: to what extent did a distinctive style of figure painting emerge in Scotland and how far was this influenced by the TA and its legacy? In answer to this, the hypothesis was put forward that emergent types of figure painting began to evolve in the nineteenth century that were rooted in naturalism. Chapters 2 to 6 explored how far naturalism was developed by the pedagogical approaches of the TA, and the lasting legacy of TA methods towards the end of the nineteenth century.

In seeking to answer this primary research question, investigation was required into the dominant styles of figurative painting in nineteenth-century Scotland and their development in tandem with, or under the influence of, TA pedagogy. It was also necessary to re-examine the careers of TA-associated artists in an effort to better understand the Scottish nineteenth-century history of figurative painting. This led to the secondary research question: how did the TA's teaching methodologies, in terms of figurative painting, differ from other examples in Scotland, the United Kingdom and the Continent? This question required investigation of the teaching methods, ideologies and systems of other academies compared to the TA to test the hypothesis that the TA's methods were innovative in the first half of the century, but that its overarching emphasis on naturalism gave way to a limited and rigid curriculum post-1858.

¹ See, for example, McKay, *The Scottish School of Painting*, where Wilkie is the topic of chapter V, and Scott and Dyce the topic of chapter XII. This was repeated, for example, by Macmillan where Wilkie has one chapter and Lauder, Dyce, Scott and W.B. Scott are grouped together in one chapter. See for example: Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-2000*, Chapter XI: Artists of the mid-nineteenth century, 201-218.

² With the exception of Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and his pupils*. Errington's excellent contribution is the sole study to consider Lauder's progressive methods in the Antique and Life Academies.

Findings

Figurative painting in Scottish art, 1800-1900, and the influence of the TA

This thesis has proposed a new reading of Scottish figurative painting in the nineteenth century by suggesting that it was first influenced by specific ideologies of ‘naturalism’, which in turn were perpetuated by TA masters and students throughout the century. These types of emergent ‘naturalism’ can be traced back to the late eighteenth century in Scottish figurative painting. Chapter 2 suggested that naturalism was tied to a visual identification with Celtic and Scottish poetry, and that from this, naturalism predominantly evolved as ‘imagined’ and rustic types of nature in Scottish nineteenth-century figurative painting. This thesis enlarges discussions of visual exploration of the ‘poetic’ established by Duncan Macmillan, Murdo Macdonald and John Morrison.³ Although Macdonald did not use the word ‘naturalism’ with regard to visual references to poeticism, he discussed the emergence of poeticism in the work of TA master David Allan, stating that it ‘created a model for others, notably David Wilkie.’⁴ In particular, Morrison has used the word ‘nature’ with reference to Scottish artists’ use of poetry as metaphoric of an ‘ancient, common human past.’⁵ Although Morrison stated that Scottish artists’ paintings were ‘frequently celebratory in nature’ in the nineteenth century, he nonetheless referred particularly to landscape and not to figurative painting.⁶ This research has thus suggested the need for further identification, clarification⁷ and development of the idea of a ‘poetic’ strand of naturalism in Scottish nineteenth-century figurative painting. It differs from previous approaches by proposing that naturalism was fostered by the approaches of TA, given its status as Scotland’s primary art institution for the first half of the nineteenth century, and due to the distinctive nature of its teaching approaches. This was manifested in the Board of Manufactures’ methods and the individual approaches of each TA master in the nineteenth century.

Following the research established by these scholars, this thesis identifies emergent types of poeticism primarily as Celtic and pastoral. As indicated by the use of the word

³ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-1990*, 113; Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, 65-71; Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 33-34.

⁴ Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, 66.

⁵ Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 33.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁷ Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, 71. Macdonald states ‘His [Macpherson’s] significance for Scottish art is that through Alexander Runciman he began a process of Celtic revival which found its most developed expression over a century later in the Glasgow of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Edinburgh of Patrick Geddes.’ So while Macdonald highlights the revival of Celtic painting, it is not fully developed or explored due to the wide scope of his study.

‘pastoral’, both of these strands were visually originally rooted in classicism, as both Runciman and Allan were inspired by Gavin Hamilton and his Homerean paintings. However, Allan’s inspiration, here referring to his pastorals, can be seen to have evolved further into a more traditional representation of naturalism, as stated by Duncan Forbes:

...for many contemporaries, the performative aspects of Allan’s naturalism eclipsed any residual pastoralism attached to Ramsay’s poem, and the former’s unstable visual equivalent was increasingly perceived to be an image of the lowland countryside as it actually was.⁸

As Forbes’s discussion made clear, Allan’s contribution to naturalism, which has been since termed ‘genre’, was not simply an authentic or realistic depiction of Scottish rural life. However, it marked a change in Scottish painting from the overarching ‘High Art’ subjects to a direct visual identification that associated ‘nature’ directly with contemporary subject matter. This use of rural subjects also led to the painterly treatment being termed ‘naturalistic’, as it was believed to be more representative of ‘real’ life. This suggestion follows Forbes’s conclusion that the emphasis on ‘naturalism’ also performed to assuage fears of the gentry and upper class market, following the French Revolution and class agitations across Scotland.⁹ Scotland’s unique cultural and political circumstances gave rise to these tendencies towards naturalism; it should be pointed out, however, that access to the life model was available at the Academy of St. Luke and the Foulis Academy, prior to the TA, yet the Academy of St. Luke did not have a far-reaching impact due to its short history. Rather it is clear that David Allan was formulating his visual approach at the Foulis Academy that would eventually result in ‘genre’ in what can now be regarded as a new Scottish national style, evident in the work of Wilkie and his followers.

In the early nineteenth century, the Scots were therefore predisposed to more ‘naturalistic’ methods of treatment. As Forbes has shown with regard to genre painting, the Scots were ‘less subject to standards of decorum’ than with English examples.¹⁰ At this early stage the TA’s curriculum was still largely limited to copying from engravings and casts, yet the TA master John Graham emphasized ‘the importance of hands in the emphasis of action and meaning.’¹¹ This shows that he was preparing students for genre subjects and the continuation of the naturalist canon. We have seen that arising from Allan’s ‘pastoral’ naturalism, empirical modes of learning evolved at the TA, from the study of anatomy to artists’ exploration of phrenology and physiognomy.

⁸ Forbes, “‘Dodging and Watching the Natural Incidents of the Peasantry’: Genre Painting in Scotland 1780-1830”, 85.

⁹ Ibid, 91.

¹⁰ Ibid, 89.

¹¹ Irwin and Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900*, 97.

Artists' interest in empiricism is specifically understood in this thesis as the development of a scientific manner of enquiry, which evolved from 'naturalism.' Edinburgh was predisposed to empiricist methods of study, due to its medical and scientific history. This thesis has also suggested that the TA employed an ethnic model, John Mongo, an Indian or Pakistani model, in the 1840s, as part of a further investigation into the human form, and particularly with reference to physiognomy which had developed from genre painting. This line of thought is supported in that the use of Indian life models was rare during the early Victorian period. In Paris, the Parisian *grisette* or the Jewish model was favoured between 1820-1850.¹² Moreover, in Britain, Italian models were most desired of all, and they had turned the profession into a 'virtual cottage industry' by the mid-nineteenth century.¹³ The use of an Indian life model also points to the example of TA master William Allan and his antiquarian exploration of the 'exotic.'

Although the RA's schools offered the study from life and from anatomy, its philosophies were largely in contrast to those practiced of the TA. Reynolds emphasized that the goal for each artist was the pursuit of 'ideal beauty'¹⁴ over 'naturalism', yet we have also seen that the TA was not 'anti-classical' in its pedagogic tone.¹⁵ Despite the overarching empiricist approaches of the TA, the study of casts was central to its curriculum. Moreover, its changing status in the early nineteenth century was realised in the specially designed neoclassical Royal Institution building. Naik and Stewart have termed this identification of classical and Celtic heritage as 'Celto-Hellenism'¹⁶, a useful term to signify the intertwining Celtic and classical ideologies of the early nineteenth century. From the outset of Graham's tenure, it is clear that the Scots adopted a more liberal or 'humanist' approach to art education, which is in contrast with Stevenson's claim that 'the cast, anatomy and the infrequent life class... suppressed physical and facial liveliness.'¹⁷

However, an undisputed disadvantage of the TA's pedagogic scope was that it did not have access to an institutional life class until 1829. David Scott felt it necessary to form his own life class in the 1820s, and this further highlights that students felt that they were lacking in

¹² Lathers, "Posing the 'Belle Juive': Jewish Models in 19th-Century Paris", 27.

¹³ Postle, 'Naked civil servants: the professional life model in British art and society' in Desmarais, Postle, and Vaughan (eds.), *Model and Supermodel: The Artist's Model in British Art and Culture*, 18.

¹⁴ Wein, 'Naturalising Tradition: Why Learn from the Masters?' in Potter, *The Concept of the "Master" in Art Education in Britain and Ireland, 1770 to the Present*, 31.

¹⁵ Forbes, "'Dodging and Watching the Natural Incidents of the Peasantry': Genre Painting in Scotland 1780-1830." Forbes states that the bent towards naturalism through genre encouraged a series of institutions in Edinburgh that were 'anti-classical' in tone.

¹⁶ Naik and Stewart, "The Hellenization of Edinburgh: Cityscape, Architecture, and the Athenian Cast Collection", 369.

¹⁷ Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 163.

a vital part of their artistic education. This was not just representative of the TA, but reflected widely on the curriculum offered by other Scottish institutions. For example, although Anderson's University may have contemporaneously offered a life class, the institution was not intended for students of the fine arts. The 1820s and 1830s marked an important period of growth in artistic institutions in Edinburgh, as highlighted particularly with the foundation of the RSA in 1826 which indicated the beginnings of the shift in power from the patronage-dominated market. This represented the start of the democratization of art education, and the need to formally found a national school of art.

An important part of the research presented in this thesis was to reexamine Dyce's role within this Scottish tradition of empiricism and its associations with genre. In a departure from previous research that has often viewed Dyce as part of the British School¹⁸, this thesis has argued that Dyce's educational links with Scotland, and his personal identification with the country as a Scot, are more significant than previously thought. Dyce's role with respect to the TA (and art education) has been discussed due to his part in the *Letter to Lord Meadowbank* and in his role as a short-lived TA master. Dyce's immediate influence was felt on the TA through the institution of its colour class and fresco class on his recommendations. These were progressive developments in art education; at the RA, students had only been permitted to paint from the living model from 1847.¹⁹ By exploring his early career naturalist and 'genre' style work, this thesis suggests that he created a type of figurative art that was rooted in Scottish identity and, through his religious convictions, was intended to be symbolic of moral betterment. In contrast to previous approaches by scholars, Dyce is positioned as an important link in the line of Scottish naturalism. More directly, the TA pupil David Scott revived the Celtic strand of Scottish art established in the eighteenth century by Runciman's Ossian murals. Scott paid direct homage to Runciman by painting scenes from Ossian on his studio walls, and in his adaption of 'Celtic' themes.²⁰ Scott's paintings highlight his aspirations towards 'High Art' and metaphysical themes yet present a dichotomy due to his insistence on direct observation and anatomical correctness. Importantly Scott was also one of the few Scottish artists of the period to revive and exhibit paintings of the semi-nude model. That

¹⁸ See, for example, Allan Staley, "William Dyce and Outdoor Naturalism", 470.

¹⁹ Ibid, 44.

²⁰ Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, 145-146. It has already been shown that Walter Scott's role was fundamental to the development of Scottish post-Union identity. As we have seen, he also reclaimed fairies as a symbol of the Celts, which was in turn explored by TA artists in the mid-Victorian period.

he considered his position and ideas important within Scottish education is emphasized by his two applications for the role of TA master.

In turn, the discussion of Dyce and Scott raises another important issue: the influence of Continental and British movements that impacted Scottish art. Dyce's reforms (suggested in the *Letter to Lord Meadowbank* and thus implemented by the Department of Practical Art) were a result of his experience of French, and predominantly German, educational models.²¹ Moreover, we have seen that the Nazarenes influenced Dyce and Scott in the 1830s²²; the Pre-Raphaelites and the Hague School also had an impact on the Lauder students of the 1850s. Later in the century, the legacy of Scott Lauder's lessons in the Antique and Life Academies would be passed on to the younger generations of students through RSA Life Classes and direct artists' contact. This research has proved the hypothesis that the Trustees' School of Art curriculum was rigid and limiting as an elementary drawing school. Despite its early successes within the framework of the 'South Kensington System', other Schools of Art in the UK and on the Continent provided a vastly superior art education. Even on a local level, the rise of technical colleges, like the Watt Institution (now Heriot-Watt University), and local Schools of Design, like the GSA, offered use of the life model and instituted progressive changes. The GSA represented a shift from Edinburgh to Glasgow as the dominant centre of art education in the central belt, but it also represented the mimicking of Continental approaches, primarily in terms of its employment of teachers and models.²³

Another dominant theme to emerge from this research was Hill's role in Edinburgh art education. He was important in terms of TA history in his capacity as the RSA Secretary and as a member of the Board of Manufactures. It has also been shown that Hill was well placed to coordinate the employment of models between institutions, and the Edinburgh modelling network appears to have been strengthened by family ties with models from the

²¹ The origins for the foundation of the Government Schools of Design and Department of Practical Art is covered in Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*.

²² We have seen that the influence of German painting was part of a UK-wide movement, shown by the choice of fresco for the Houses of Parliament competitions, as overseen by Prince Albert.

²³ F.H. Newbery, *Report by Departmental Committee to enquire into the administration of the Board of Manufactures, Volume II: Minutes of Evidence and Appendices* (London: HMSO, 1903), no. 1572, 82. 'We have, of course, large day and evening classes, and we have as many as six life models sitting at a time... We used rather for a long time the ordinary ice-cream man or organ-grinder that came to Glasgow... and for the last few years the governors have imported models from the Continent. They are attached to the school at a weekly wage, and they live in Glasgow for the purpose of sitting for the students... For example, we have two men at the present time who are really superb.'

same family posing in the TA and the RSA.²⁴ More specifically, this thesis has suggested that Hill and Adamson's calotypes were more important to the students of Scott Lauder than previously suggested. These calotypes were naturalist or rural in subject and naturalistic in execution, and thus considered to be the contemporary definition of 'true to nature.' Hill and Adamson's Newhaven calotypes may have partly served as an inspiration for McTaggart's own focus on coastal and fishing life in Argyll. As Morrison has stated, McTaggart's paintings emphasize 'a relationship between people and the natural world.'²⁵

In seeking to evaluate and understand these developments, and the emphasis on naturalism identified as the overarching theme of this thesis, Benedict Anderson's theories of nationalism are relevant. He defines nationalism as:

...an imagined political community... it is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.²⁶

For Anderson, the eighteenth century marked the 'dawn of the age of nationalism' due to the Enlightenment, which ended the reign of the divine right to rule and instead unveiled social tension that manifested in revolutions and unrest between classes.²⁷ This corresponds with Forbes's discussions that naturalism was promoted by institutions of art as a national visual (and literary) characteristic or style as a way of quelling social unrest. More revealingly, Anderson has noted that 'communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.'²⁸ For the post-Union context, Scottish national identity was associated with poetry that married the image of Scots people with the land. Ossian and his harp became a sign of national identity in the same way that the 'peasant' became associated with rural Scotland. The 'sociological landscape' of the poems became part of the 'national imagination.'²⁹ This is shown in Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd*, which unified Scotland's land and people:

Beneath the sooth side o a craigy bield
Where crystal springs their halesome waters yield,
Twa youthfu shepherds on the gowans lay,

²⁴ Soden, "Tradition, Evolution, Opportunism: The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education 1826-1910", 64. In the TA, Emma Fauling and J. Fauling posed in 1847, Margaret Paterson posed during the same period as R. Patterson (1847) and Jemima McLeod posed in 1857, with Kenneth McLeod posing in 1849-50. *Board of Manufactures Day Secretary's Book*, NG1/31/2, NG1/31/3 (NAS). Models from the same family was particularly common with Italian models, and with the influx of Italians to Paris in the 1850s is reflected in the École des Beaux-Arts.

²⁵ Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 167.

²⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 3rd ed. (London; New York: Verso, 2003), 6.

²⁷ Ibid, 11.

²⁸ Ibid, 6.

²⁹ Ibid, 30.

Tentin their flocks ae bonny morn o Mey...³⁰.

Further research

This study has drawn on archival sources in order to construct a better picture of the pedagogical methods of the TA, but it was not its purpose to provide a detailed review of institutional minutiae. Similarly, the research for this thesis has been undertaken with an awareness of the vast numbers of art schools that existed in the United Kingdom during the Victorian era, particularly with the creation of the Schools of Design. Individual art schools were selected as comparative models, rather than as a full survey of examples relevant to this research. Although Stuart Macdonald has touched upon it briefly in his research, it would thus be worth examining the role of technical colleges in Scottish art education in more detail. Further exploration may elucidate the numbers of art students who were attending technical colleges in Edinburgh in light of the changing educational roles of the Trustees' School of Art and the RSA.

David Scott has however been presented in the preceding chapters as an important artist in Scottish nineteenth-century figurative art and art education. Building on the research in these chapters, it is clear that further exploration of his depictions of the heroic (semi-draped) nude in relation to the nineteenth-century male nude would be potentially valuable. The male nude is the subject of an exhibition at the Musée d'Orsay at the time of submitting this work.³¹ In terms of Scottish painters associated with the TA, the constraints of the word length and the particular focus of this thesis mean that it has unfortunately not been possible to examine some of the TA's most prominent figures in closer detail, such as Andrew Wilson, Thomas Duncan and John Ballantyne. Yet it is worth adding that little research has been carried out on the lives and artistic roles of these artists to date, and some stages of the progressive period of the TA's history fell under the tenure of Wilson and Duncan, it is clearly desirable to gain further understanding of their contributions to the development of Scottish figurative painting.

While it was originally hoped to include female artists associated with the TA, including Isabella Scott Lauder and Amelia Hill, they have in the event had to be omitted, as the

³⁰ Allan Ramsay, *The Gentle Shepherd: A Scots Pastoral Comedy* (Glasgow: James Steell, 1800), 13.

³¹ 'Masculine/Masculine: The Nude Man in Art from 1800 to the Present Day', 24 September 2013 - 2 January 2014, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

research material did not fit with the overall narrative flow. Although Janice Helland³² has made an excellent beginning in opening up this field, the education of Scottish female artists deserves further investigation, particularly in relation to Scottish artistic and institutional frameworks and social groups.

In terms of the research carried out on artists' models at the TA it was discovered that ethnic minorities were employed. The reading presented in this research suggests that the use of an Indian or Pakistani model was related to exoticism and physiognomy. However more research is needed in relation to the idea of the ethnic 'other' in Edinburgh, particularly with reference to the racial and sociological statistics of ethnic groups in Edinburgh during the 1840s.

Due to the scope of this research, a discussion of notable Scottish landscape artists who studied at the TA have not been included.³³ Macmillan and Macdonald have shown that the formation of national identity in late eighteenth-century painting was also evident in landscape painting, citing Alexander Nasmyth as the dominant artist in this category.³⁴ Morrison has suggested that Nasmyth was painting landscapes that bonded 'the people, the history and, in a new vital sense, the land of Scotland into one coherent unit.'³⁵ More recently, Macdonald has shown that there are links between Scottish identity and the theme of Ossian in 'Highland' landscapes, here using 'Highland' to refer to Scottish mountainous terrain and the concept of 'northernness.'³⁶ He has shown that this line of enquiry is ripe for clarification of accepted ideas about Scottish art and visual culture. Although steps have been taken to deconstruct the Victorian mythology of 'Highlandism'³⁷, an adoption of Macdonald's strategy of repositioning and/or reexamining the identities ascribed to Scottish art would provide further insights. One branch of this discussion, as has been highlighted,³⁸ might focus more directly on Scottish 'genre.'

³² Helland, *Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Commitment, Friendship, Pleasure*.

³³ Nevertheless, this thesis has included discussion of Scottish artists that were both figure and landscape artists, including, for example, Runciman, Dyce and Hill.

³⁴ Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-1990*, 133. Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, 80-81.

³⁵ Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, 74.

³⁶ Macdonald, "Art as an Expression of Northernness: The Highlands of Scotland," *Visual Culture in Britain*, 355-371. Phil Miller, "Experts Find 'Lost' Scottish Artwork by Turner," *The Herald*, 1 October 2013 (<http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/home-news/experts-find-lost-scottish-artwork-by-turner.22310225>).

³⁷ Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*.

³⁸ Forbes, "'Dodging and Watching the Natural Incidents of the Peasantry': Genre Painting in Scotland 1780-1830.

In the course of this thesis, it has become clear that there is a pressing need to investigate and define genre painting in Scotland, particularly in reference to its stylistic and naturalist origins. Although this thesis has shown that naturalism was a conceptual and stylistic part of genre, this requires further clarification with reference to how far English genre prototypes may have affected Scottish artists. For example, although Graham was training his students for genre and history paintings, he advised them to study ‘the characters and mode of drawing to be seen in the works of Westall, Morland and Ibbetson’³⁹, all English painters. The representation of ‘naturalism’ within its traditional definition as ‘truth to nature’ in Scottish genre painting also requires elucidation, and in terms of our understanding of the picturesque. For example, the use of physiognomy and social class has not been fully explored in relation to Scottish genre painting. Despite contributions to this field, notably from Tromans in relation to Wilkie’s oeuvre⁴⁰, in the course of this research, it has become clear that a fuller study of Scottish genre painting from 1800-1830 is desirable.

By identifying naturalism as a visually unifying quality of Scottish figurative art in the nineteenth century, this thesis has offered a new interpretation of the TA’s teaching methods, and it is the first study to offer a closer examination of its legacy. It has suggested new interpretations of Scottish figurative art in the nineteenth century, and it has re-examined the contributions of artists previously excluded or overlooked. It is hoped that this research will contribute to further discussions on our visual understanding of national art in its nineteenth-century formations, and further elucidate discussions of nineteenth-century art education in the UK and on the Continent.

³⁹ John Burnet, *Practical Essays in various Branches of the Fine Arts*, London 1848, 106 and 108 cited in Irwin and Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900*, 97. It is possible that Graham’s students knew of the work of these English genre painters through engravings. As we have seen, the opportunities for exhibitions were limited until the foundation of the Royal Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in 1819, and the Scottish Academy in 1826. As Tromans notes, the genre painter Morland was the subject of several biographies in the early nineteenth century. Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People’s Painter*, 18.

⁴⁰ Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People’s Painter*.

Appendix I: Figures**Fig 2.0**

David Wilkie. *Pitlessie Fair*. 1804.

Oil on canvas. 61.5cm x 110.5cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.

**Fig 2.1**

D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson.

D.O. Hill and Thomas Duncan at the Nasmyth Tomb, Greyfriars' Churchyard. 1843-4.

Calotype. 19.3cm x 14.2cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.

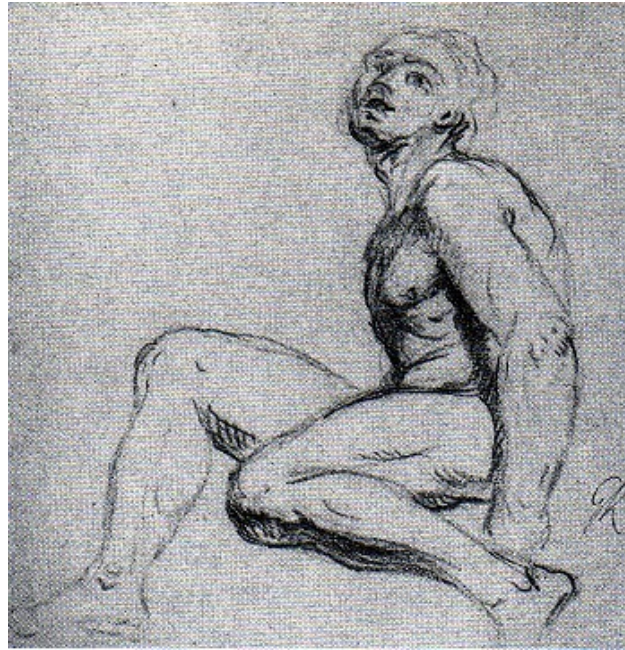


Fig 2.2

Godfrey Kneller. *Male nude seated to the left.*
c.1711. Black chalk on blue-grey paper. 28.7cm x 28.1cm.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

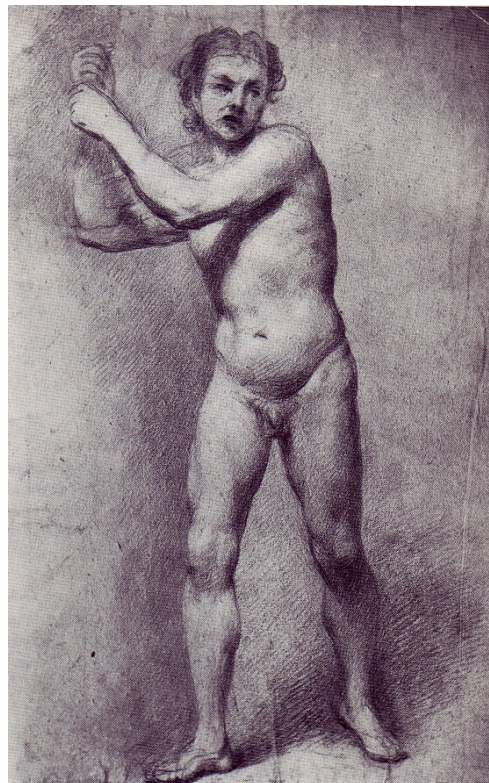


Fig 2.3

Allan Ramsay. *Nude study of a man standing, his arms raised as though pulling a rope.*
1755. Black and white chalk on white paper.
41.9cm x 27.3cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 2.4

William Aikman. *Allan Ramsay*, 1684-1758. 1722.

Oil on canvas. 75.7cm x 64cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.

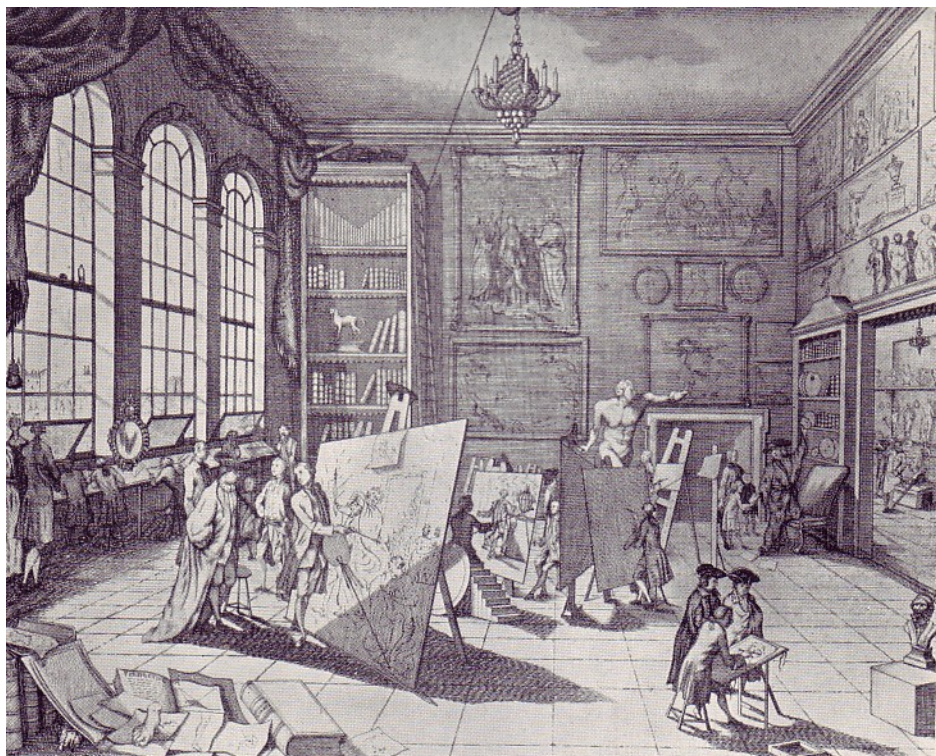


Fig 2.5

David Allan. *The Foulis Academy*.

c. 1760s. Engraving. Present whereabouts unknown.



Fig 2.6

David Allan. *View of the Foulis Academy*. c.1762.

Oil on canvas. 33cm x 40.6cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, Glasgow.



Fig 2.7

David Allan. *The Foulis Art Exhibition*.

c.1760s. Engraving. Present whereabouts unknown.



Fig 2.8

Archibald Skirving. *Gavin Hamilton, 1723-1798, artist. c.1788.*

Pastel on paper. 61cm x 48.7cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 2.9

James Norie. *Classical Landscape with Trees and a Lake. 1736.*

Oil on canvas. 64.8cm x 132cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 2.10

Domenico Cunego after Gavin Hamilton. *The Anger of Achilles at the Loss of Briseis*, published by Gavin Hamilton. 1769.

Engraving. 45.3cm x 62cm. The British Museum, London.



Fig 2.11

Gavin Hamilton. *Achilles Lamenting the Death of Patroclus*. 1760-3.

Oil on canvas. 227.3cm x 391.2cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 2.12

Alexander Runciman. *Agrippina with the Ashes of Germanicus*. c.1773.

Etching on paper. 14.4cm x 10.6cm. Tate Britain, London.



Fig 2.13

Alexander Runciman. *Fingal Encounters Carbon Carglass*. c.1773.

Etching on paper. 14.9cm x 24.5cm. Tate Britain, London.



Fig 2.14

Alexander Runciman. *The Spey and the Tay*. 1772.

Oil on plaster. Nineteenth-century photographic detail from the Hall of Ossian, Penicuik House. Reproduced in Duncan Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-1990* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2000), 124.



Fig 2.15

David Allan. *Hector's Farewell to Andromache*. 1772.

Oil on canvas. 73.7cm x 99.1cm. Accademia Nazionale di S. Luca, Rome.



Fig 2.16

Gavin Hamilton. *Hector's Farewell to Andromache*. 1775.

Oil on canvas. 315cm x 395.6cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.



Fig 2.17

Alexander Runciman. *The Origin of Painting*. 1773.

Oil on canvas. 61cm x 114.5cm. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik.

**Fig 2.18**

David Allan. *The Origin of Painting*. 1775.

Oil on panel. 38.7cm x 31cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.

**Fig 2.19**

Paul Sandby after David Allan. *The Roman Carnival*. 1780-81.

Etching and aquatint. 36.7cm x 55.5cm. The British Museum, London.



Fig 2.20

William Hogarth. *A Rake's Progress: 7. The Rake in Prison*. 1734.
Oil on canvas. 63cm x 75.5cm. Sir John Sloane's Museum, London.



Fig 2.21

David Allan. *Glaud and Peggy*. Scene from *The Gentle Shepherd*. 1789 (version of 1788 illustration). Etched outline and watercolour. 23.1cm x 18.2cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 2.22

Alexander Carse. *The Village Ba' Game*. 1818.

Oil on canvas. 89cm x 133cm. Dundee Art Galleries and Museums Collection (Dundee City Council).



Fig 3.0

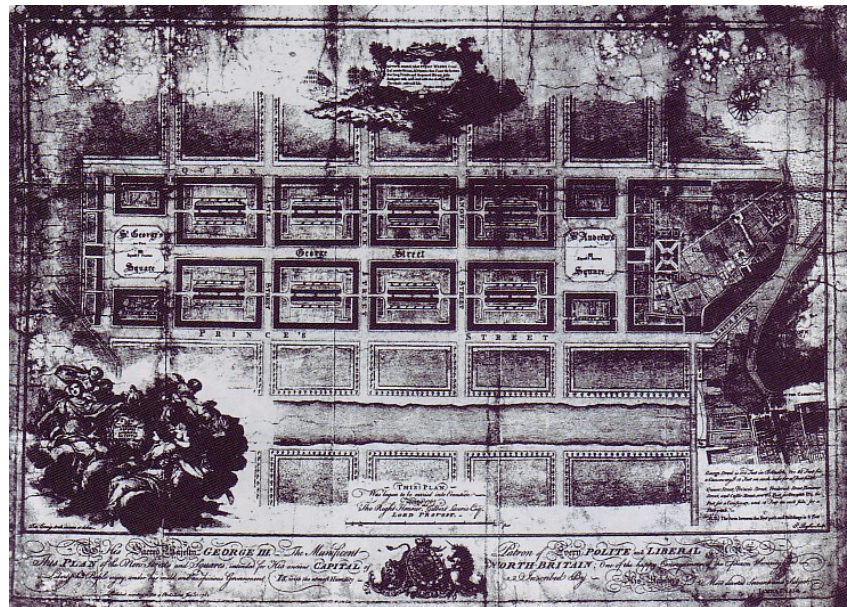
David Wilkie. *Village Politicians*. 1806.

Oil on canvas. 57.2cm x 74.9cm. The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Mansfield and Mansfield.

**Fig 3.1**

Henry Fuseli. *Female nude, standing, from front*. 1796.

Pen, ink and wash on paper. 20cm x 11cm. The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

**Fig 3.2**

James Craig. *Layout of the streets and squares of the first New Town*. 1767.

Trustees of the National Library of Scotland. Reproduced in Mary Cosh, *Edinburgh: The Golden Age* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 2003).



Fig 3.3

After John Graham. *The Burial of General Simon Fraser (1729-1777) after the Battle of Saratoga, 1777*. c.1800. Oil on canvas. 71.5cm x 91.9cm. National Army Museum.



Fig 3.4

Benjamin West. *The Death of General Wolfe*. 1770.
Oil on canvas. 153.7cm x 213.2cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

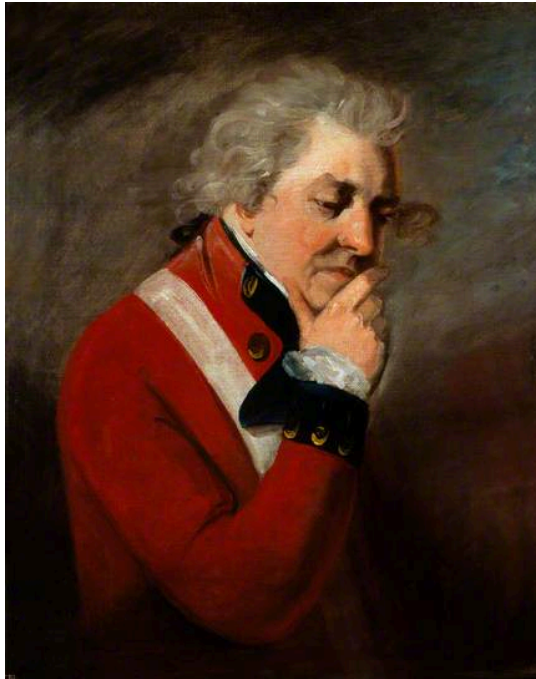


Fig 3.5

John Graham. *Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne (1722-1792)*
(a study for a detail of *The Funeral of General Simon Fraser, who was shot after the action at Saratoga, October 7, 1777*). Oil on canvas. c.1791.
37cm x 29.2cm. National Army Museum.



Fig 3.6

John Graham. *The Disobedient Prophet*. c.1790.
Oil on canvas. 242.5cm x 332cm. Royal Scottish Academy of Art & Architecture,
Edinburgh.



Fig 3.7

William Allan. *The Stolen Child Recovered*. 1841.

Oil on panel. 102.6cm x 162.5cm. Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums.



Fig 3.8

William Allan. *Lord Patrick Lindsay of the Byres and Lord William Ruthven compelling Mary, Queen of Scots to sign her Abdication in the Castle of Loch-leven*.

1824. Oil on panel. 84cm x 115.5cm. St Leonards School, St Andrews.



Fig 3.9

D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson. *Sir William Allan*.
1843. Calotype. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 3.10

Figure of a river-god from the west pediment of the Parthenon.
The Acropolis, Athens, Greece, c. 438-432BC. The British Museum, London.



Fig 3.11

William Donaldson Clark. *The National Gallery and the Royal Institution*. c.1859.

Albumen print. Scottish National Photography Collection, Edinburgh.

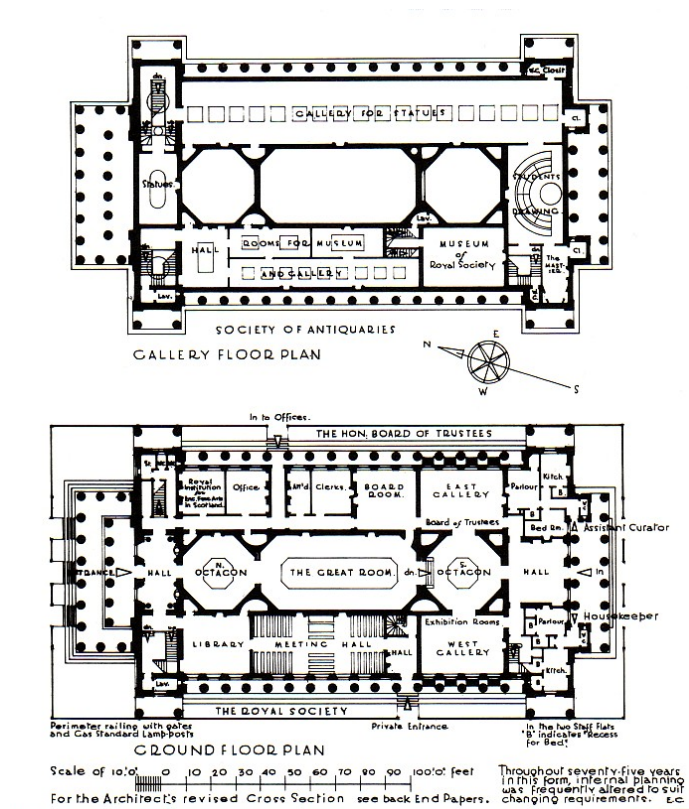


Fig 3.12

The Royal Institution building as remodeled in 1832. Reproduced in Esme Gordon, *The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, 1826-1976* (Edinburgh:

Skilton, 1976), 77.

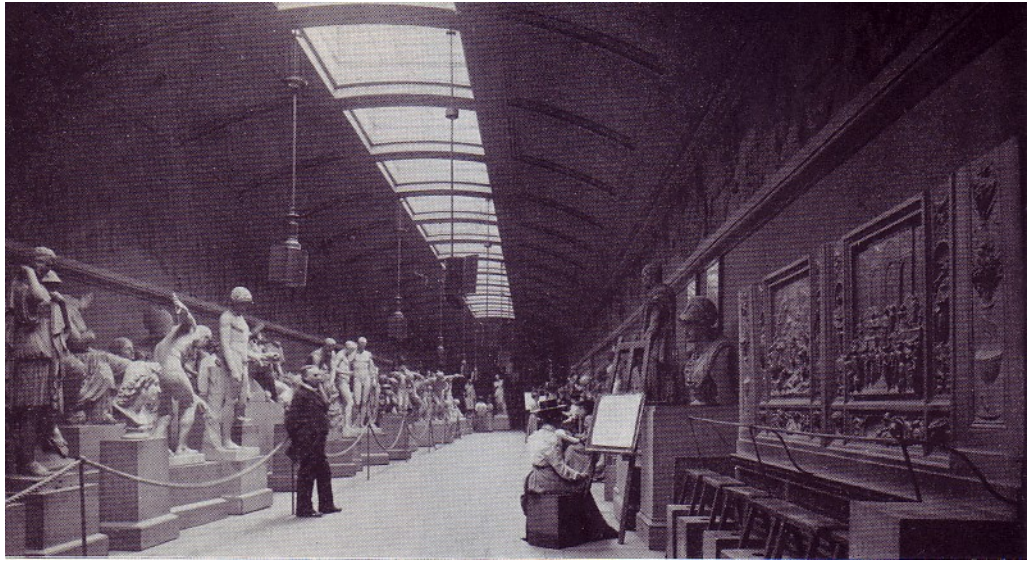


Fig 3.13

Unknown photographer. *The Royal Institution, Statue Gallery.*

Photograph reproduced in Esme Gordon, *The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture & Architecture, 1826-1976* (Edinburgh: Skilton, 1976), 120.



Fig 3.14

Antonio Canova. *The Hope Venus*. 1817-20. Marble. City Art Gallery, Leeds.



Fig 3.15

John Steell. *Alexander and Bucephalus*.
Modeled 1833 and cast 1883. Bronze. Edinburgh.



Fig 3.16

Bertel Thorvaldsen. *Mercury about to kill Argos*. 1818.
Marble. 174.5cm high. Thorvaldsen Museum, Denmark.



Fig 3.17

Francis Chantrey. *The Sleeping Children*, monument to Ellen Jane and Marianne Robinson. 1817. Marble. Lichfield Cathedral, Staffordshire.



Fig 3.18

John Steell. *Monument to Robert Burns*. 1880. Bronze. Central Park, New York.

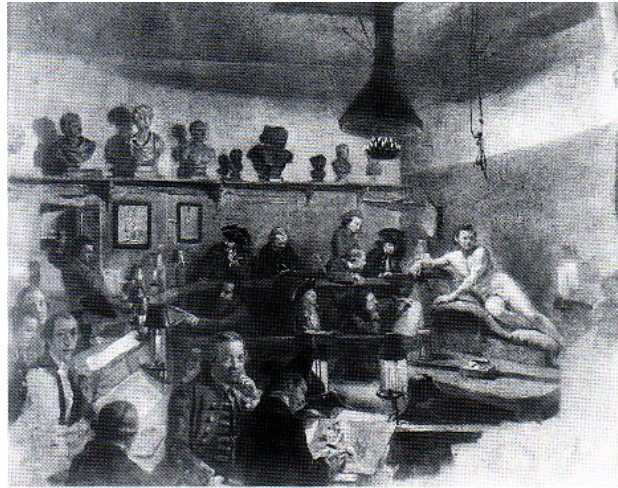


Fig 3.19

British School. *A Life Class (St Martin's Lane Academy?)*. c.1760.

Oil on canvas, unfinished. 48.2cm x 64.7cm. Royal Academy of Arts, London.



Fig 3.20

Thomas Faed. *Life Study of John Mongo, The Punka-Walla*. 1847.

Oil on paper on board. 66cm x 52.8cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.

**Fig 3.21**

Johan Zoffany. *Dr. William Hunter lecturing at The Royal Academy*. c.1772.
Oil on canvas. 77.5cm x 103.5cm. Royal College of Physicians, London.

**Fig 3.22**

D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson. *Dr. Robert Knox*. c.1843.
Calotype. Special Collections, University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow.



Fig 3.23

William Pink; Agostino Carlini. *Smugglerius*. c.1834.

Plaster cast after the bronze. 75.5cm x 148.6cm x 160.2cm. Royal Academy of Arts, London.



Fig 3.24

D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson. *Mohun Lal*. 1845.

Print from a calotype negative. Scottish National Photography Collection, Edinburgh.



Fig 3.25

William Allan. *The Slave Market, Constantinople*. 1838.

Oil on panel. 129cm x 198cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 4.0

David Scott. *William Dyce, 1806-1864, Artist*. 1832.

Watercolour on paper. 24.2cm x 22.8cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 4.1

William Dyce. *Lamentation of the Dead Christ*. 1835.

Oil on canvas. 210cm x 165cm. Aberdeen Art Gallery & Museums, Aberdeen.



Fig 4.2

William Dyce. *Francesca da Rimini*. 1837.

Oil on canvas. 183cm x 219cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 4.3

William Dyce. *Francis Humberston (1754-1815), Lord Seaforth, MP for Ross-shire (1784-1790), Governor of Barbados (after Thomas Lawrence). c.1840s.*

Oil on canvas. 238cm x 144.8cm. The Highlanders' Museum, Ardersier.



Fig 4.4

Henry Raeburn. *John Pitcairn, Esq., of Pitcairn. c.1820.*

Oil on canvas. 76.8cm x 62.8cm. Royal Scottish Academy of Art & Architecture, Edinburgh.



Fig 4.5

Andrew Geddes. *Jeremy Bentham*. Not dated.

Oil on canvas. 76cm x 61cm. The Queen's College, University of Oxford.

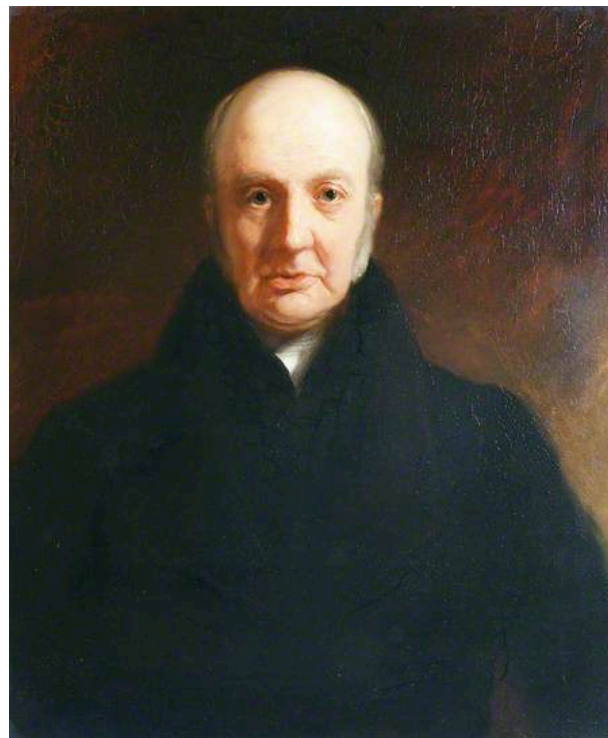


Fig 4.6

William Dyce. *Alexander Webster*. 1833.

Oil on canvas. 75.5cm x 62.5cm. Aberdeen Art Gallery & Museum, Aberdeen.



Fig 4.7

William Dyce. *Sketch of a Doorway with a Water Barrel*. c.1830-1840.
Oil on board. 25.4cm x 27.9cm. Glasgow Museums, Glasgow.



Fig 4.8

William Dyce. *Cottage Interior*. Not dated.
Etching on paper. 8.3cm x 12.7cm. Tate Britain, London.



Fig 4.9

David Wilkie. *Card Players*. 1808.

Oil on panel. 53.3cm x 74.9cm. Private Collection.

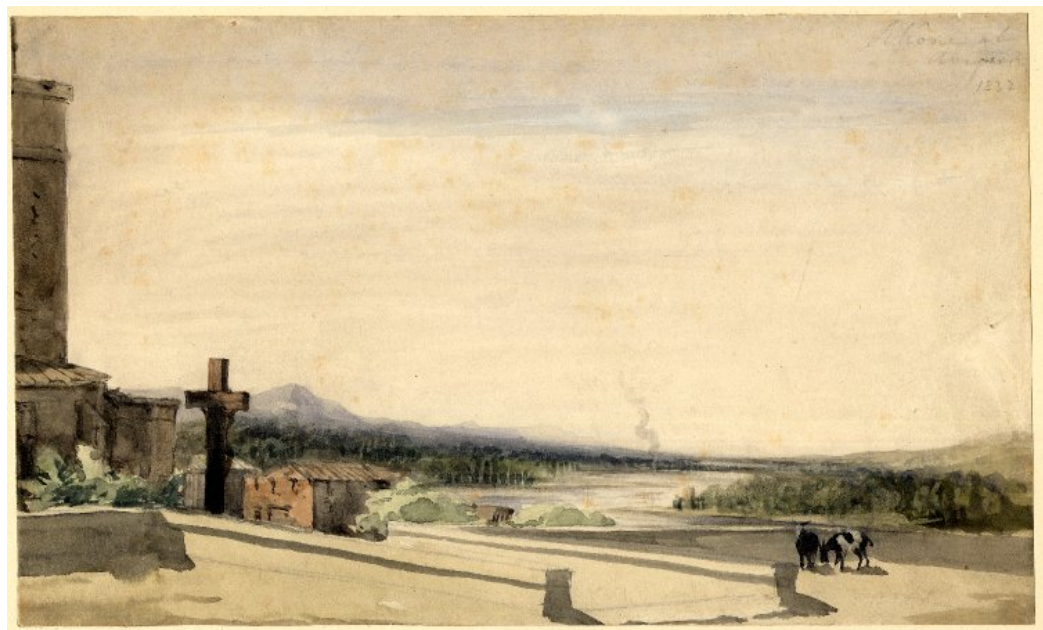


Fig 4.10

William Dyce. *Rhône at Avignon*. 1832.

Watercolour on paper. 18.1cm x 30.4cm. British Museum, London.



Fig 4.11

William Dyce. *Man of Sorrows*. c.1860.

Oil on millboard. 34.3cm x 49.5cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 4.12

William Dyce. *David in the Wilderness*. c.1860.

Oil on millboard. 34.3cm x 49.5cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 4.13

William Dyce. *Madonna and Child*. c.1827-30.
Oil on canvas. 102.9cm x 80.6cm. Tate Britain, London.



Fig 4.14

William Dyce. *St. John leading the Blessed Virgin Mary from the tomb*. 1842-1860.
Oil paint on paper. 76.2cm x 109.9cm. Tate Britain, London.



Fig 4.15

David Wilkie. *John Knox Preaching before the Lords of Congregation, 10 June 1559.*

1832. Oil paint on wood. 122.6cm x 165.1cm. Tate, London.



Fig 4.16

William Dyce. *Roslin [Rosslyn] Chapel.* 1830s.

Oil on canvas. 29.4cm x 36.7cm. Collection of Christopher Gibbs.

**Fig 4.17**

William Dyce. *Grant of Tullacharron*, illustration to *Highland Rambles* by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Edinburgh, i. 1837. The British Library, London.

**Fig 4.18**

William Dyce. *John Knox Dispensing the Sacrament* (sketch for the painting in John Knox's house, Edinburgh). Not dated.

Oil on panel. 36.8cm x 56.2cm. Aberdeen Art Gallery & Museum.



Fig 4.19

David Wilkie. *The Blind Fiddler*. 1806.

Oil on mahogany. 57.8cm x 79.4cm. Tate Britain, London.



Fig 4.20

William Dyce. *George Herbert at Bemerton, Salisbury*. 1860.

Oil on canvas. 86cm x 112cm. City of London Corporation.



Fig 4.21

William Dyce. *Entrance to the Vicarage*. Late 1850s.
Oil on board. 30.5cm x 40.6cm. The Makins Collection.

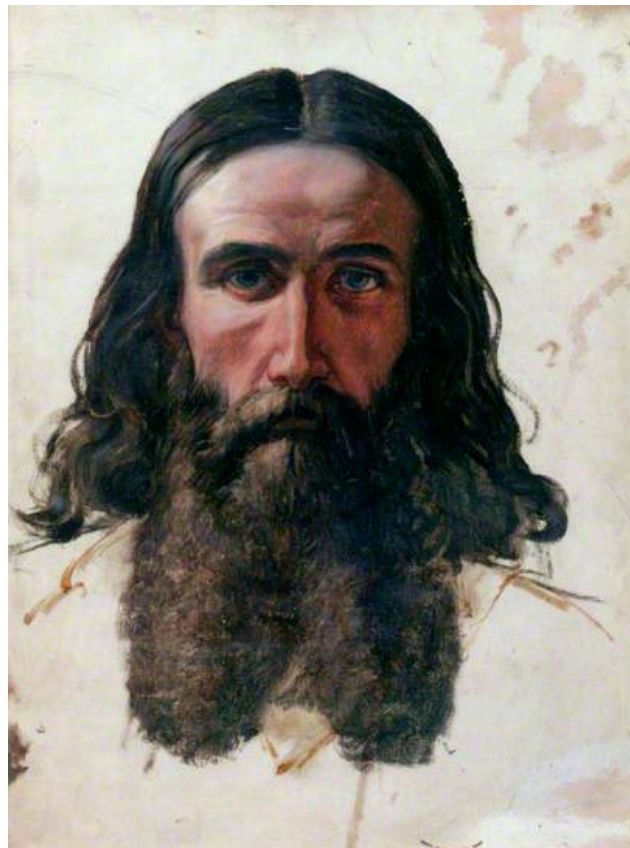


Fig 4.22

William Dyce. *Life Study (Head of Christ)*. c.1846.
Oil on canvas. 50.7cm x 36.8cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig 4.23

William Bell Scott. *Life drawing copied from another drawing executed in the TA before 1827*. Not dated. Reproduced in Lindsay Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and his pupils* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1983), 16. Held by the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 4.24

Robert Benjamin Haydon. *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*. 1814-20. Oil on canvas. 396 x 457 cm. Mount St Mary's Seminary, Cincinnati.



Fig 4.25

William Etty. *Judith and Holofernes Triptych*. Not dated.
Oil on canvas. 54cm x 73cm. Christie's lot 181. Sale 5402.

Note: The original paintings are on oil on canvas (from 1829-1831) and are stored in the National Galleries of Scotland. The triptych has degraded over time and is currently rolled in storage. This oil sketch by Etty gives an idea of the overall effect of the triptych.



Fig 4.26

William Etty. *The Combat: Woman Pleading for the Vanquished*. 1830.
Oil on canvas. 304cm x 399cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.

**Fig 4.27**

David Scott. *Copy of The Combat: Woman Pleading for the Vanquished*. Not dated.
Oil on canvas. 56cm x 76cm. Sold as Lot 18 in Sotheby's, London, 13th July 2006.

**Fig 4.28**

David Scott. *Russians Burying Their Dead*. 1831-32.
Oil on canvas. 49cm x 91cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.



Fig 4.29

William Dyce. *Neptune resigning to Britannia the Empire of the Seas*. 1847.

Fresco. 348cm x 513cm. Royal Collection, Osborne House.



Fig 4.30

David Scott. *The Dead Sarpedon, Borne by Sleep and Death (from Homer's The Iliad)*.

1831. Oil on canvas. 179cm x 141cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 4.31

Laocoön. Between 27 BC and 68 AD.

Parian marble. 208cm high, 163cm wide, 112cm deep.

Vatican Museums, Vatican Museums.

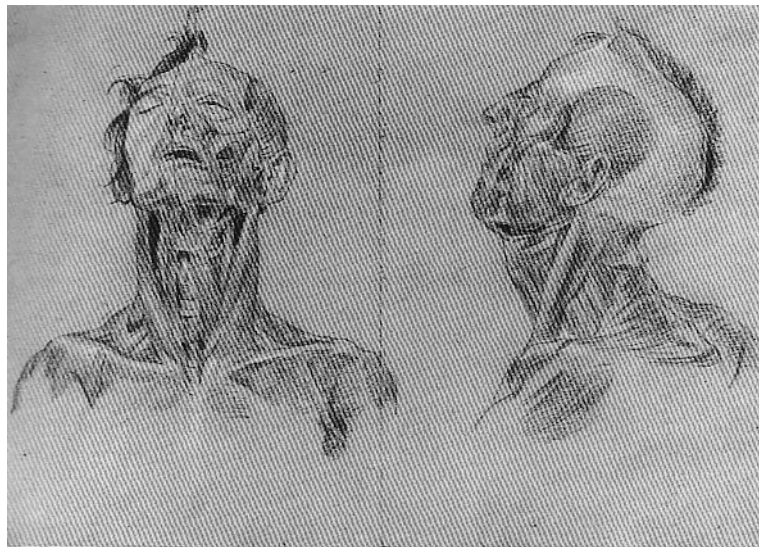


Fig 4.32

David Scott. *Two views of an écorché head from an album of anatomical drawings made in Rome*. 1833. Black, red and white chalk. 54.2cm x 77.4cm.

Private Collection.



Fig 4.33

David Scott. *Sappho and Anacreon*. c.1835.

Oil on canvas. 182cm x 145.5cm. Glasgow Museums.



Fig 4.34

David Scott. *The Agony of Dischord (sic) or the Household Gods Destroyed* (sketch).

c.1833. Watercolour over pencil. 18cm x 21.4cm. National Galleries of Scotland,
Edinburgh.



Fig 4.35

David Scott. *Philoctetes Left on the Isle of Lemnos by the Greeks on their Passage Towards Troy*. 1840.

Oil on canvas. 101cm x 119.4cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 4.36

David Scott. *The Vintager*. 1835.

Oil on canvas. 116.9cm x 97.2cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 4.37

David Scott. *Ariel and Caliban*. 1837. Oil on canvas.

116.8cm x 98.5cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 4.38

David Scott. *The Belated Peasant* (from Milton's 'Paradise Lost'). 1843.

Oil on canvas. 73.6cm x 92.4cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.

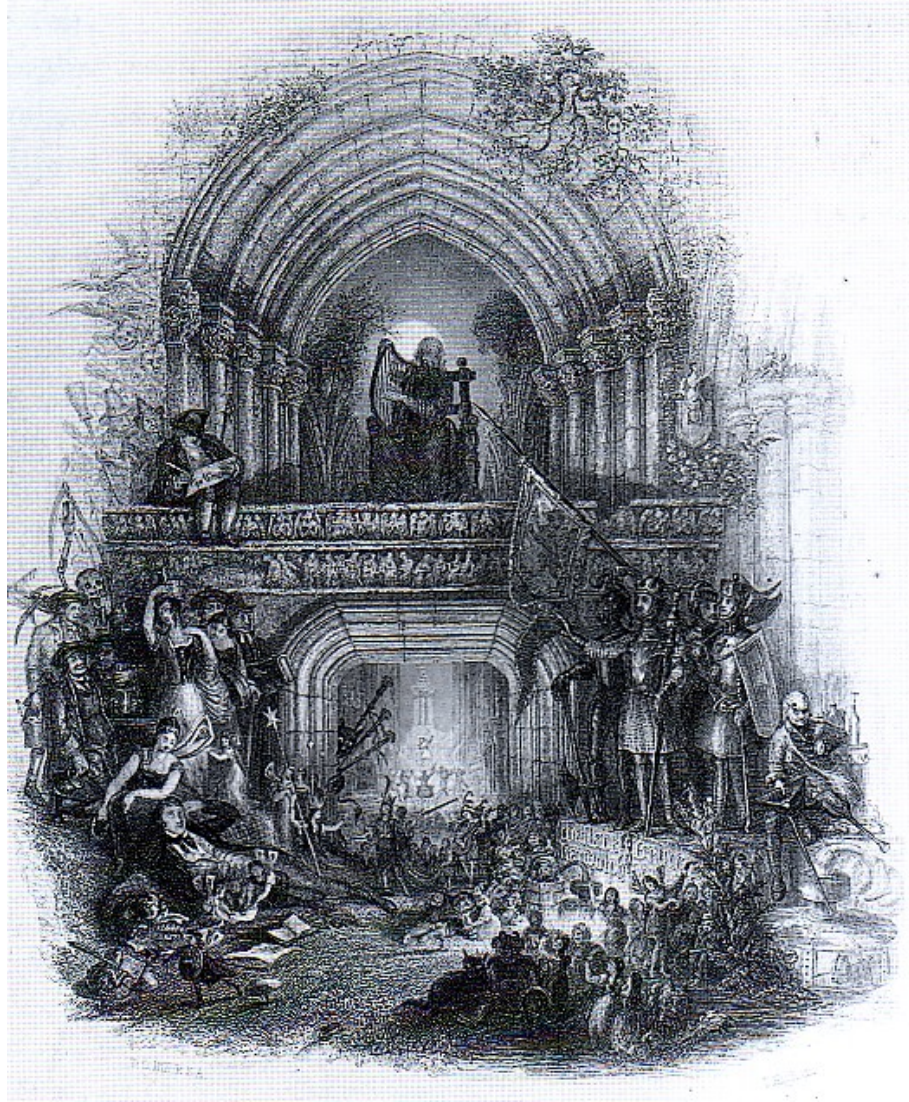


Fig 4.39

D.O. Hill. *The Poet's Dream at Lincluden*, frontispiece engraving from *The Land of Burns*. John Wilson, Robert Chambers and D.O. Hill, *The Land of Burns, A Series of Landscapes and Portraits illustrative of the life and writings of the Scottish Poet*, Vol. I (Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1840).



Fig 4.40

Joseph Noel Paton. *The Reconciliation of Oberon and Titania*. Exhibited RSA 1847.
Oil on canvas. 76.2 cm x 122.6cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig. 4.41

Joseph Noel Paton. *The Quarrel of Oberon and Titania*. 1849.
Oil on canvas. 76.2cm x 122.6cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 4.42

David Scott. *Scottish War: The Spear* (triptych, left panel). Not dated.
Oil on canvas. 86cm x 50cm. Paisley Museum and Art Galleries, Renfrewshire Council
Collections, including collections associated with the Paisley Art Institute.



Fig 5.0

Robert Scott Lauder. *The Bride of Lammermuir* (first version). 1831.

Oil on canvas. 97.8cm x 126.4cm. Dundee Art Galleries and Museums Collection, Dundee.



Fig 5.1

Robert Scott Lauder. *David Roberts 1796-1864 Artist (in Arab dress)*. 1840.

Oil on canvas. 133cm x 101.3cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 5.2

Robert Scott Lauder. *Christ Teacheth Humility*. 1847.

Oil on canvas. 237.8cm x 353cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 5.3

George Paul Chalmers. *Prize drawing from the antique*. 1854-55.

Pencil or chalk on buff paper. 76cm x 100cm. Edinburgh College of Art, University of Edinburgh.

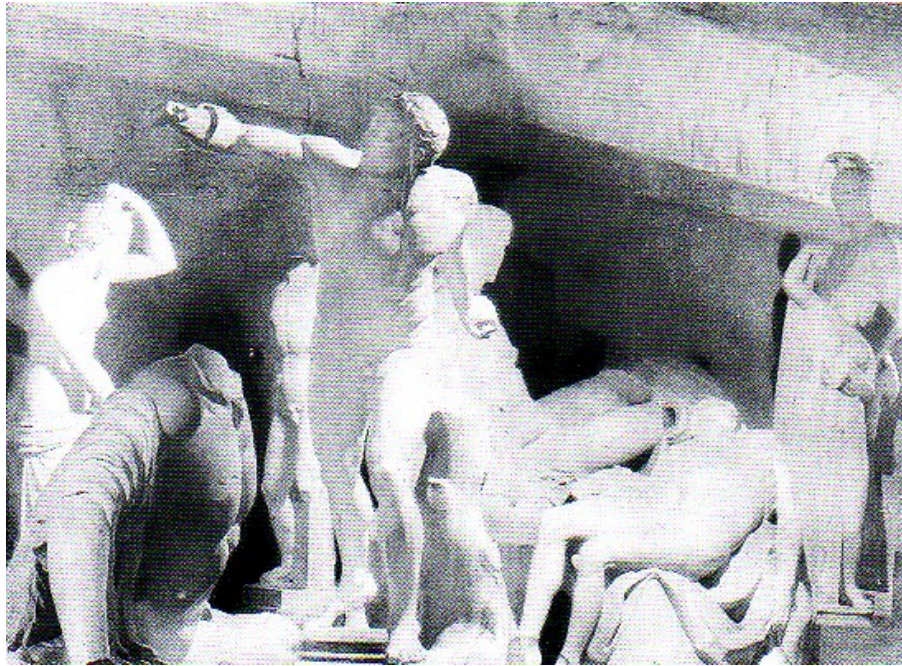


Fig 5.4

William McTaggart. *Prize drawing after the Antique*. 1854-55.
Pencil and conté crayon on buff paper. 74cm x 105cm. Edinburgh College of Art,
University of Edinburgh.

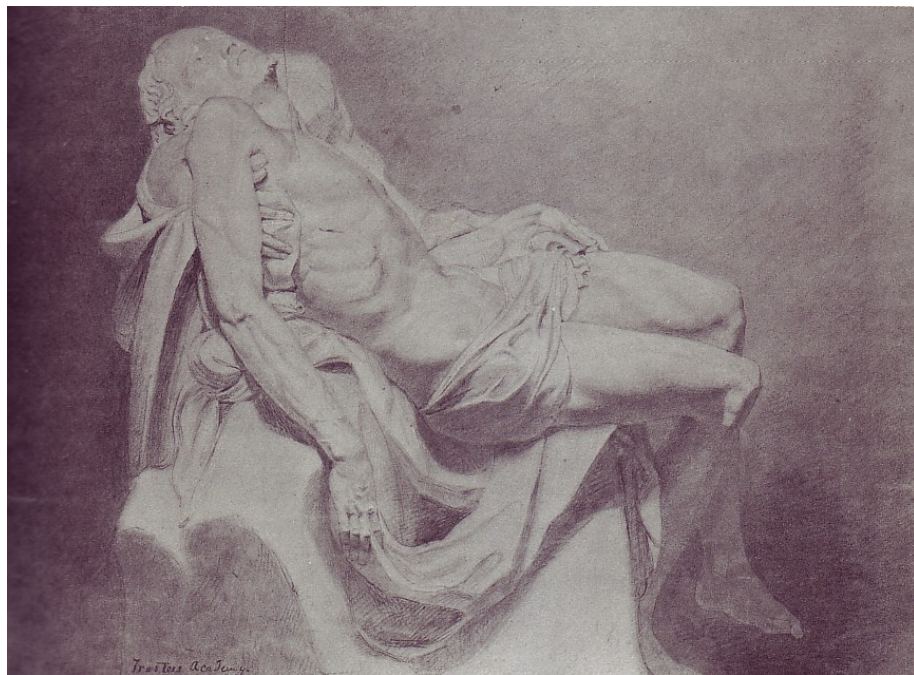


Fig 5.5

William Bell Scott. Drawing of a cast of Michelangelo's *Dead Christ* made at the
Trustees' Academy. 1827. Reproduced in Lindsay Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott
Lauder and his pupils*, 15.

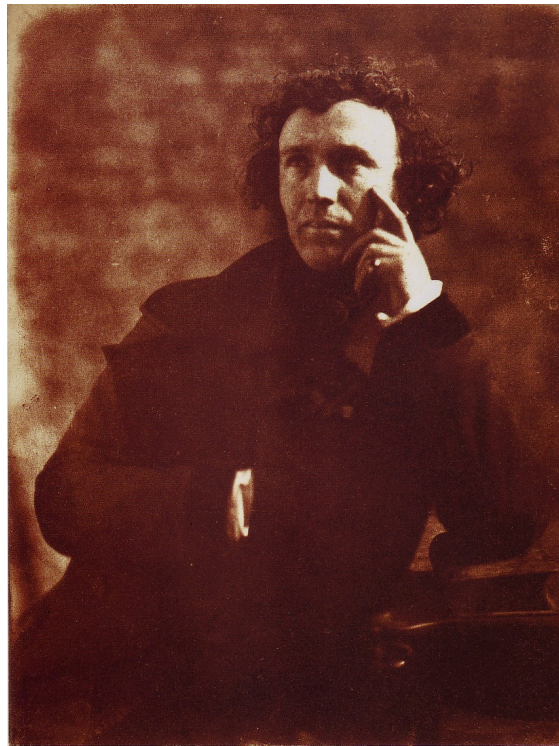


Fig 5.6

D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson. *Sir John Steell*. 1843-7.

Calotype. 19.7cm x 14.5cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 5.7

D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson. *92nd Gordon Highlanders at Edinburgh Castle*. 1846

Calotype. 19cm x 14.1cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 5.8

D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson. *Life Study – Dr George Bell*. 1843-7.
Calotype. Measurements unknown. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.

**Fig 5.9**

William Quiller Orchardson. *Wishart's Last Exhortation*. 1853.
Oil on canvas. 100cm x 126cm. University of St. Andrews, St. Andrews.

**Fig 5.10**

William Etty. *Two male nudes*. c.1816-1822.
Red chalk on paper. 50.2cm x 33.3cm. Nottingham Castle Museum and Art Gallery,
Nottingham.



Fig 5.11

William McTaggart. *Life study of two nude female models*. c.1855.
Oil on canvas. 61cm x 58cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 5.12

John Pettie. *Two Female Nudes: One Standing, One Seated*. c.1855.

Oil on canvas. 62.7cm x 24.2cm. Edinburgh College of Art, University of Edinburgh.



Fig 5.13

Unknown pupil of Robert Scott Lauder. *Life Study of Two Nude Models*. c.1855.
Oil on canvas. 70.4cm x 50.5cm. Edinburgh College of Art, University of Edinburgh.



Fig 5.14

William Mulready. *British study of a seated male nude*. 1859. Black and red chalk.
34cm x 55.5 cm. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.



Fig 5.15

William Etty. *Study of a male nude*. 1830s-1840s?
Oil on paper. 56cm x 38.5cm. Royal Academy of Arts, London.

Fig 5.16

William Etty. *Study of a standing female nude*. 1830s-1840s.
Oil on paper. 55.7cm x 38.3cm. Royal Academy of Arts, London.



Fig 5.17

William McTaggart. *Life Study: Standing Female Nude*. 1850s.

Oil over black chalk on prepared canvas. 63cm x 52cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 5.18

Robert Scott Lauder. *The Shepherdess*. Not dated.

Oil on canvas. 75cm x 111cm. Paisley Museum and Art Galleries, Renfrewshire Council Collections.



Fig 5.19

William McTaggart. *Spring*. 1864.

Oil on canvas. 45.1cm x 60.4cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 5.20

George Paul Chalmers. *Asleep*. c.1871.

Oil on canvas. 36.8cm x 24cm. The Orchar Collection, Dundee Art Galleries and Museums.



Fig 5.21

Dante Gabriel Rossetti. *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin*. 1848-9.

Oil on canvas. 83.2cm x 65.4cm. Tate Britain, London.



Fig 5.22

William McTaggart. *The Wreck of the Hesperus*. 1860.

Oil on canvas. 74cm x 90cm. Private collection of James Holloway.



Fig 5.23

William McTaggart. *Dora*. 1869. Oil on canvas.
116.6cm x 98cm. Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh (Diploma Collection).



Fig 5.24

William McTaggart. *The Yarn*. 1861.
Oil on canvas. 74cm x 99cm. Present whereabouts unknown.

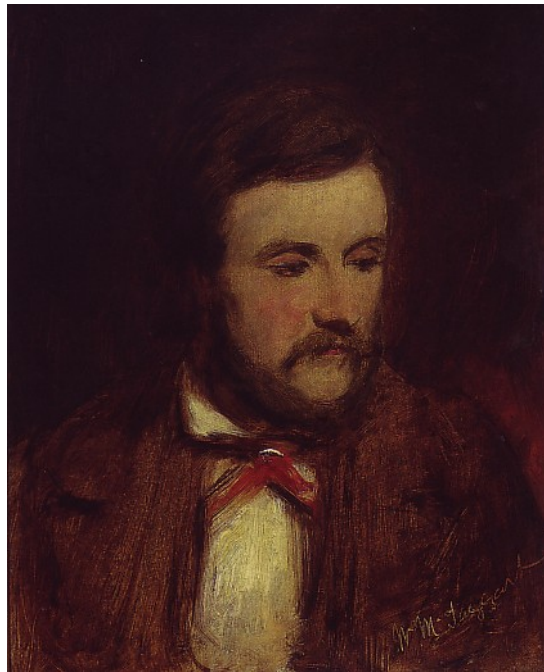


Fig 5.25

William McTaggart. *Reputedly a portrait of his brother Duncan*. c.1860.

Oil on board. 26cm x 20.8cm. Present whereabouts unknown.



Fig 5.26

William McTaggart. *The Past and the Present*. 1860.

Oil on canvas. 76.2cm x 91.5cm. Private Collection.



Fig 5.27

Thomas Faed. *The Mitherless Bairn*. 1855.

Oil on canvas. 35.1cm x 61.7cm. Brighton and Hove Museums and Art Galleries.



Fig 5.28

Thomas Faed. *A Peasant Family*. Not dated.

Oil on panel. 30cm x 23cm. The Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archeology.



Fig 5.29

William McTaggart. *Puir Weans*. 1863.

Oil on canvas. 38cm x 32.5cm. Present whereabouts unknown.



Fig 5.30

William McTaggart. *Amongst the Bents*. 1872.

Oil on canvas. 75cm x 95cm. The Orchar Collection: Dundee Art Galleries and Museums,
Dundee City Council.



Fig 5.31

James Cox. *At Auchmithie*, 1881. 1881.

Platinum print. 29.3cm x 19.4cm. Measurements unknown. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig 5.32

David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. *James Linton, his Boat and Bairns*. 1845.

Calotype. Measurements unknown. University of Glasgow Library, Department of Special Collections.



Fig 5.33

William McTaggart. *'For his daily bread.'* Not dated.

Oil on canvas. 62.5cm x 90.2cm. Royal Scottish Academy of Art & Architecture, Edinburgh.



Fig 5.34

David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. *Newhaven Boys* or 'Newhaven Fisher Callants' or 'Our Coast-Guards To Be.' c.1844-45. Calotype. 13.7cm x 19.1cm.

National Portrait Gallery, London.



Fig 6.0

Charles Hodder. *Artist, Self-Portrait*. Not dated.

Oil on canvas. 76.5cm x 63.8cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.

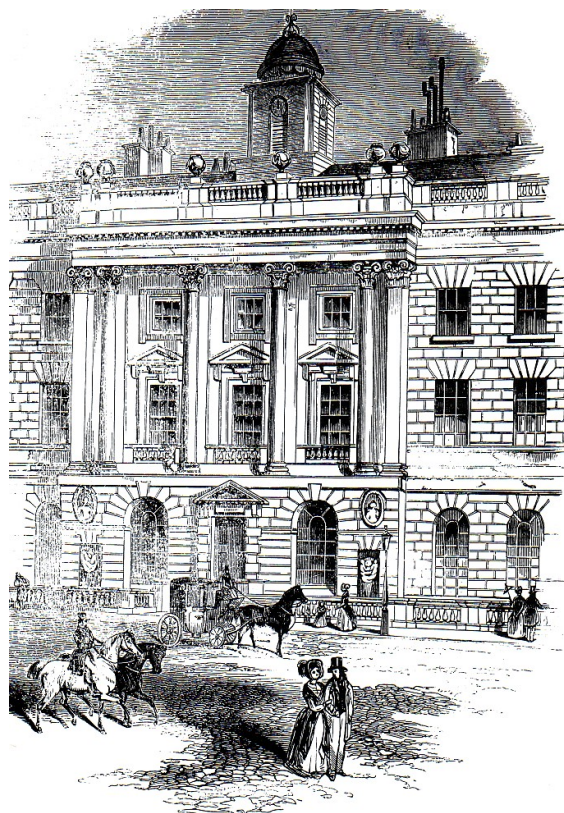


Fig 6.1

Somerset House, the Strand. Reproduced in Christopher Frayling, *The Royal College of Art: One Hundred & Fifty Years of Art & Design* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1987), 15.



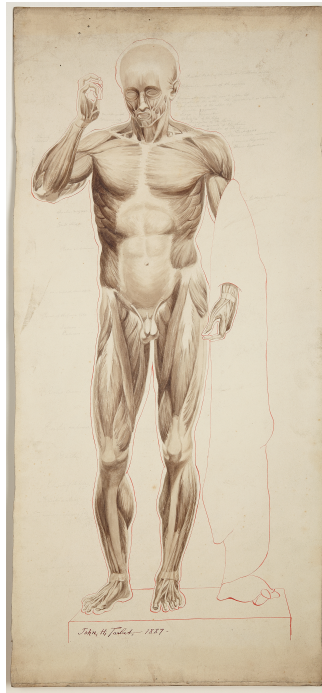
Fig 6.2

*The Royal Institution entrance hall designed by William Playfair. This part of the RI remained unaltered until 1910. Reproduced in Esme Gordon, *The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture & Architecture, 1826-1976* (Edinburgh: Skilton, 1976), 121.*



Fig 6.3

John A. Henderson Tarbet. *Laocoön Group – central figure*. c.1887.
Pencil on paper. 79.0cm x 54.5 cm, Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh.

**Fig 6.4**

John A. Henderson Tarbet. *Anatomical study of a skeleton within an outline of Cleomene's Orator*. 1887.

Pencil on paper. 76.0cm x 35.0cm. Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh.

**Fig 6.5**

Edward Poynter. *The Catapult*. 1868-1872.

Oil on canvas. 155.5cm x 183.8cm. Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle.

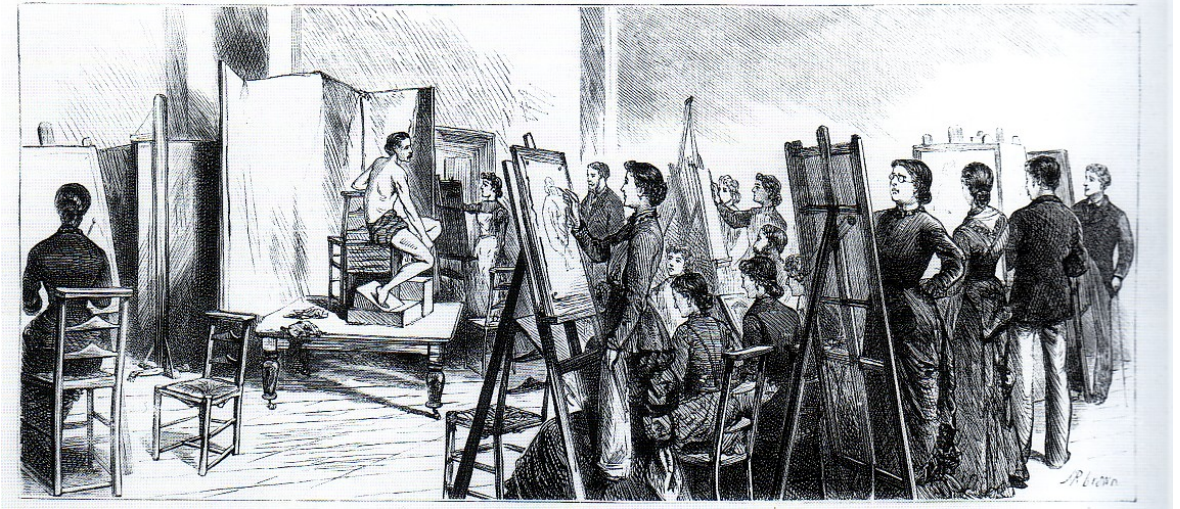


Fig 6.6

'The life class in the Slade School.' Line engraving from *The Graphic*. 16 February 1881.

Reproduced in Martin Postle and William Vaughan, *The artist's model: from Etty to Spencer* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), 14.



Fig 6.7

John Pettie. *The Disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey*. 1869.

Oil on canvas. 100cm x 155cm. Museums Sheffield, Sheffield.

**Fig 6.8**

William Quiller Orchardson. *The Queen of Swords*. c.1877.

Oil on canvas. 48.8cm x 81.9cm. Scottish National Galleries, Edinburgh.

**Fig 6.9**

David Wilkie. *The Penny Wedding*. 1818.

Oil on panel. 65.1cm x 95.6cm. Royal Collection Trust.



Fig 6.10

John Pettie. *Jacobites*, 1745. 1874.

Oil on canvas. 90.8cm x 127.3cm. Royal Academy of Arts, London.



Fig 6.11

James Guthrie. *A Gallant of the Terror*. 1880.

Oil on canvas. 61.2cm x 45.7cm. Scottish National Galleries, Edinburgh.



Fig 6.12

William Darling McKay. *Turnip Singlers – A Hard Taskmaster*. 1883.
Oil on canvas. 102.7cm x 82.2cm. Royal Scottish Academy of Art & Architecture,
Edinburgh.



Fig 6.13

George Paul Chalmers. *The Vegetable Woman*. Undated.
Oil on canvas. 27.5cm x 20.5cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, Glasgow.



Fig 6.14

William McTaggart. *Sketch for Spring*. 1863–1864.

Pencil on paper. 10.1cm x 13.9cm. Scottish National Galleries, Edinburgh.



Fig 6.15

William McTaggart. *A Message from the Sea*. 1883.

Oil on canvas. 115cm x 155.5cm. Dundee Art Galleries and Museums, Dundee City Council, Dundee.



Fig 6.16

William McTaggart. *Enoch Arden*. 1866.

Watercolour on board. 38cm x 55cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, Glasgow. This is a watercolour study for the unknown oil painting *Enoch Arden* by McTaggart.



Fig 6.17

James Campbell Noble. *Sunday Morning*. 1879.

Oil on canvas. 77.1cm x 122.5cm. National Museums Liverpool.



Fig 6.18

Robert Gemmell Hutchison. *Filling the Water Jug*. Undated.
Oil on panel. 29.5cm x 22.3cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, Glasgow.



Fig 6.19

William McTaggart. *A Shingly Shore*. 1904.
Oil on canvas. 58.8cm x 75.5cm. Royal Scottish Academy of Art & Architecture,
Edinburgh.

Appendix II: Documents

Rules to be observed by the Students attending the Schools of the Honourable the Board of Board of Trustees

29th October 1844, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/38 (NAS), 91-92.

No 1 Each Student on admission to enter his Name on a Register for the purpose.

No 2 The first three Months after admission to be considered probationary, and the attendance of those Students who do not make satisfactory progress – not to be permitted beyond that time.

No 3 Students who do not attend regularly on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, & Friday, not to be allowed to compete for any of the prizes, & those who are very irregular in their attendance will be dismissed.

No 4 No excuse can be admitted for a Student absenting himself, except sickness, or special business; written certificates of which form the parent or employer of the student must be admitted to the Master.

No 5 No Students without permission to leave the School, before the time he leaves for the day.

No 6 No Student to handle any of the Casts or other Examples.

No 7 Any Student who in any way injures the property of the Schools to be held responsible and to pay the damage.

No 8 The students are required to conduct themselves with Order, quietness & regularity, and to sit down in their proper places on coming into the School.

No 9 No unnecessary talking or moving about to be permitted.

Visitors who study in the Galleries during the day are also strictly enjoined to observe these Rules. The Party infringing the same will be removed, and denied access afterwards.

Report to the Board by the School of Design Committee, of new arrangement proposed for the School, founded on the recommendations of the Deputation to London

19th November 1855, *Minute Book of the Board of Manufactures*, NG1/1/40 (NAS), 435-442.

Minute

Consisting of

Confidential Report by the Secretary

Report by the Royal Scottish Academy

Report by Mr Dav Oct Hill

And

Report by Mr Christie

Have all been very carefully considered in detail by the Committee, and they now beg to recommend to the Board the adoption of the following measures for the School.

First

The establishment, as an experiment, of Day Classes, in addition to the existing Morning and Evening Classes

Second

The Morning and Evening Classes to meet at the same hours and on the same number of days per week as hereafter, viz, from 8 to 10 in the Mornings and from 6 to 8 in the Evenings, for 5 days in one week and four days in the succeeding week.

Third

The Day Classes to meet from 10* to 12 in the Morning and to be under the superintendence of a Director or Master. The Galleries to be closed to the public during the hours of the Day Classes.

*Note: The Board recommended to the Committee to confer with the Directors with the view to allow a short interval between the breaking up of the Morning & Evening Classes and the meeting of the Day Classes.

Fourth

The Session to remain as at present, viz,* from 12th October till 12th July, and to be divided as near as may be into three equal Terms.

*Note The Board recommended to the Committee to define the dates of the Terms exactly, and to consider whether the Session might not commence on the 1st October and terminate on the 1st July instead of as at present.

Fifth

Fees to be paid for all the Classes, and for the present, at the following rates. The Fees being required to be paid in advance, when a Ticket for the Term will be issued to the payer.

For the Mornings and Evening Classes, both Male and Female; 7/. Per Term with the right for this Fee to attend both Morning and Evening; -- or, One Guinea for the Session;

School Masters, School Mistresses, and Pupil Teachers to pay the same fee of 7/. As the Morning and Evening Classes, their classes being at the same hours.

For the Day Classes, both Male and Female

One Guinea per Term, or Three Guineas for the Session;

The Day Classes to be open to all persons, but only on payment of the appointed Fee for these Classes.

Note. The Board submit to the consideration of the Committee, whether a reduced rate might not be introduced in favour of Students attending the Morning and Evening Classes desirous of joining the Day Classes, with a view to the encouragement of persevering study.

Payment of Fees for the Mornings and Evening Classes to be deferred until the commencement of next Session in October 1856, but to commence for the Day Classes after next Christmas vacation. Consideration of the application of the Fees to be postponed until their amount be ascertained.

Sixth

The Female Classes having become very numerous and being rapidly on the increase, the appointment of a competent Matron to take charge of them is strongly recommended, whenever the Board's Female will admit of it, the superintendence and teaching of the Director being continued the same as at present, and as great want of room is already felt in this Department of the School, it is further recommended that the Case of Torrie Bronzes be immediately removed from the West Room into the North Octagon, and that the West Room be given up to the Female Classes in addition to the apartment they now occupy.

Seventh

As regards Geometry, specific arrangements to be made for instruction therein without payment of any extra Fee, and the Classes to be taught from Mr Dallas' Treatise. The arrangements under which a Geometry Class is to be formed and taught have not yet been matured, but the Committee recommend that a course of instruction in Geometry shall not in the meantime be regarded as imperative, but that the Directors shall be empowered to require any of the Students to attend that Class.

Eighth

As in works connected with Sculpture where relief is required, the ability to take Casts is as necessary towards the completion of the Design as the power of Shading is to the finish of a Drawing, a course of instruction should be given in Mouldings, both in plaster and Elastic moulds, and in taking Casts from such Moulds, for which purpose a practical Assistant will be necessary under the Superintendence of the Director of Ornament.

Ninth

As regards Lectures, the Committee are of opinion that much benefit might be delivered by instituting various courses of Lectures, and that when additional space is obtained by the completion of the National Gallery, arrangements may be made for Lectures in all subjects relating to Art on a very extensive scale, the Lectures to be open to the Public as well as to Students, on payment of separate fees for each set of Lectures. At present however, there are no rooms free where such Lectures could be given, but while this very important branch of instruction is thus necessarily restricted, the Committee are of opinion, that the existing accommodation would allow of a short set of Lectures being given by each of the two Directors, besides those already delivered by Professor Miller on Pictorial Anatomy, and that in addition, trial might be made as to the effects and as to the interest likely to be taken in Lectures on a more extensive scale, by inviting Professor Balfour to deliver a course this Session on Pictorial Botany. The Committee having communicated with the two Directors, have arranged with them for the delivery, this Session, of a Set of Lectures from 8 to 9 in the Evening on the following subjects. On Colour and the Different Schools; and the principles of Composition and Design in Painting, by the Director of Antique. On Architecture and Ornament, and the principles of Composition and Design in Architecture and Manufactures, by the Director of Ornament.

In making the different recommendations submitted in this Report, the Committee feel it their duty to remark on the great success which has hitherto attended the School, which they gladly attribute to the ability and energy displayed by the Directors and Masters and to the zeal and perseverance shown by the Students, and they are of opinion that these will

not suffer but on the contrary be much promoted and advanced, by the adoption of the measures now proposed, in particular by abandoning the system of gratuitous instruction, and substituting that which will gradually make the School self supporting. This change has been adopted with the best results in all the Government Schools of Design, and they have thriven and shown a far greater vitality under it, than they ever did when the instruction was wholly gratuitous. Your Committee cannot see any grounds for continuing the Board's School on a different system to that which obtains and is found to answer so well else-where, and which it is not too much to say may be viewed as obsolete.

All which is submitted by

Signed

John Watson Gordon Convener

Mr Gibson Craig

Tho Stewart Traill

Dav. Oct. Hill

Appendix III: The National Course of Instruction for Government Schools of Design in Britain

THE DRAWING COURSE

Ornament Stages

Stage 1. Linear drawing with instruments

- a) Linear geometry
- b) Mechanical drawings of architectural details
- c) Linear perspective

Copies: plates mounted on card of Geometry, Architectural detail and Perspective from the Department

Stage 2. Freehand outline of rigid forms from the flat copy

- a) From a copy of an object
- b) From a copy of an ornament

Copies: for a) Brown's eight plates of freehand drawing; for b) copy of Tarsia Scroll supplied by the Department, No. 256; or the Trajan Scroll from *Specimens of Ornamental Art* by L. Gruner; or the Trajan Frieze from Albertolli, Department No. 1271

Stage 3. Freehand outline from the round (solids or casts)

- a) From models or objects
- b) From a cast of ornament

Cast: either lower portion of the pilaster of the gates from La Madeleine, or a portion of the two pilasters from the tomb of Louis XII, Department Nos. 460 and 478

Stage 4. Shading from the flat, examples or copies [usually in chalk]

- a) From copies of models and objects
- b) From a copy of ornament

Copies: for ornament, either Renaissance Rosette, Department No. 291, or copy of an ancient car or biga from *Specimens of Ornamental Art* by L. Gruner (p. 14)

Stage 5. Shading from the round, solids or casts [usually in chalk]

- a) From solid models and objects
- b) From cast of ornament
- c) Time sketching and sketching from memory

Cast: either the Egg Plant of the architrave of the Gates of Ghiberti, or the lower portion of the Florentine Scroll, Department No. 474

Stage 6. Human or animal figure from the flat

a) In outline

b) Shaded

Copies: outline of 'Laocoön', Department No. 249 or 579; or Farnese 'Hercules', Department No. 501; or outlines of the figure by Mr Herman, 22 plates

Stage 7. Flowers, foliage and objects of natural beauty from the flat

a) In outline

b) Shaded

Copies: Dicksee's *Foliage, Fruit and Flowers*, mounted 25 in. x 21 in. (e.g. The Wallflower, The Passion Flower), or Albertoli's *Foliage*, 8 plates

Stage 8. Human or animal figures from the round or from nature

a) Outline from cast

b) Shaded from cast

c) From the nude model

d) Draped

e) Time sketching from memory

Casts: a) the Panathenaic frieze from the Parthenon, Department No. 497, British Museum 29, or the portion of British Museum 30, to be drawn 22 in. x 25½ in.; or b) the 'Discobolus' of Myron, Department No. 453, or the 'Discobolus' of Naucydes, or the 'Fighting Gladiator'

Stage 9. Anatomical studies

a) Of the human figure from the flat

b) Of animals from the flat

c) Of either modeled

Examples: bones and muscles filled with the outline of the 'Discobolus' of Myron, Department No. 459, or man and horse from the Panathenaic frieze

Stage 10. Flowers, foliage, landscape details and objects of natural beauty from nature

a) In outline

b) Shaded

THE PAINTING COURSE

Stage 11. Painting ornament from the flat

a) In monochrome

b) In colour (watercolour, tempera, or oil for both)

Copies: the Trajan Scroll for a), and J.C. Robinson's Collection of Coloured Ornaments, Plates 3 or 9, Department Nos. 588 and 594

Stage 12. Painting ornament from the cast

Cast: roman Rosette from the Capitol (hexafoil with re-curved leaves), Department No. 30; or Pomegranate and Egg Plant portion of the architrave of the Ghiberti Gates; or Trajan Scroll, Department No. 471

Stage 13. Painting flowers, objects of natural beauty or landscapes from the flat

Copies from flowers: *Torrenia Asiatica*, Department No. 306, or *Pelargonium*, Department No. 300; for copies in tempera: Brooks's *Studies of Flowers*; for flat tints: Department Nos. 1536 or 1539

Stage 14. Painting the above from nature [a favourite with advanced Ladies' Classes]

Stage 15. Painting sketches of an object or a group as a colour composition

Stage 16. Painting the human figure or animals in monochrome from the cast

Cast: female torso from the British Museum, Department No. 455, or dancing girl with wreath (high relief in panel)

Stage 17. Painting the human figure

- a) From the flat copy
- b) From nature, nude or draped
- c) Time sketches and compositions

THE MODELLING COURSE

Stage 18. Modelling ornament

- a) From the cast
- b) From drawings
- c) Time sketches from example and memory

Cast: nest of the scroll of the pilaster from the Villa Medici, Department No. 475

Stage 19. Modelling the human figure or animals

- a) From the cast or models of animals
- b) From drawings
- c) From the nude or draped [a student from Carlisle sent in a finished marble bust under (c)]

Cast: 'Hercules', or the 'Discobolus' of Myron or Naucydes

Stage 20. Modelling flowers, fruit or foliage or objects of natural history from nature

Stage 21. Time sketches in clay of the human figure or animals from nature

THE DESIGN COURSE

[To win the highest award, a National Scholarship to the Central School, South Kensington, a student must have won a National Medallion at the National Competition in one the sub-sections below.]

Stage 22. Elementary design

- a) Natural objects ornamentally treated usually botanical
- b) Ornamental arrangement to fill a given space in monochrome
- c) In colour
- d) Studies of historic ornament drawn or modeled

Special Technical Stage

[These advanced stages were based on the Special Classes set up in 1852 in Marlborough House and later at South Kensington.]

Stage 23. Applied design. Technical studies

- a) Machine and mechanical drawing, plans, mapping and surveys
- b) Architectural design
- c) Surface design
- d) Plastic design
- e) Moulding, casting, chasing
- f) Lithography
- g) Wood engraving
- h) Porcelain painting

Appendix IV: The transition into the Edinburgh College of Art

In terms of the Trustees' School of Art, the *Report by Departmental Committee to enquire into the administration of the Board of Manufactures* from 1903 highlights that the consensus of the interviewees state that the curriculum was outdated and that the school was 'moribund'.¹ Despite the control of the Science and Art Department being transferred to the Scotch Education Department in 1897, the Departmental Committee stated that –

...there is evidence of some improvement in its efficiency...but the general tenour of the evidence submitted to us is that the school, in spite of its great history, has recently been in a very unsatisfactory condition.²

This report fully examined the various functions of the Board, and posed questions about the management of the newly built Scottish National Gallery (opened to the public in 1859), as well as the amalgamation of institutions, such as Heriot Watt College (formerly the Watt Institution) and the School of Applied Art. During proceedings the GSA was commended as a shining example of progressive art education in Scotland. The findings of the report stated that 'the existing School, as managed for some years past, has been of no serious value to art education in Scotland' and that 'we are of opinion that measures should be taken to supersede the School at the earliest possible moment by a more efficient and comprehensive institution under independent management.'³ It was decided that a new school of art was needed, and that The Applied School of Art was to be transferred to the new school and to remain under the control of Rowland Anderson. The School was to be managed by a Board of Trustees of fifteen members, comprising three from the RSA (including the President), with two more members to be named by the RSA. The remaining members of the Board were to be nominated by the Royal Society, Society of Antiquaries, the Town Council and the University of Edinburgh respectively. The last eight members were to be selected by the Secretary for Scotland.⁴ The findings of the report thus recommended this new school to be 'established along the lines... of the Glasgow School of Art'⁵ and it opened as the Edinburgh College of Art, receiving its first students in 1908.

¹ George Harvey, *Report... into the Administration of the Board of Manufactures*, paragraph 495, vol 2., 27.

² *Report... into the Administration of the Board of Manufactures*, paragraph 58, Vol. 1, 11.

³ *Report... into the Administration of the Board of Manufactures*, paragraph 128, Vol. 1, 20.

⁴ *Ibid*, paragraph 135, 21.

⁵ *Ibid*, paragraph 139, 21.

Appendix V: TA Life Models

List of models employed by the TA

1846	1847	1848
Henry Douglas	Emily Welch	Isabella McLeod
Louisa Roberts	Margaret Paterson	Jane Kelman
Martin Dooley	Robert Davis	M. Young
Fred Winterbottom	Mary Welch	Margaret Paterson
William Shakespeare	R. P. David	W. Young
Corporal Andrews	R. J. Davis	William Bates
Edward Curtis	M. Forbes	Henry Parker
Kenneth McLeod	Jane Kelman	Isabella McKay
John Monro	Emma Fauling	Sergeant Taylor
John Crombie	J. Gerbert (?) Fauling	George Naylor
Margaret Paterson	R. Paterson	William Chapple (?)
Emily Welch	Henry Lane	Issiah Gaw
Robert Davis	William Bates	Maerie Falconer
		John Rowland
		Mileray
Men: 10	Men: 3	Men: 7
Women: 3	Women: 5	Women: 5
	Unknown: 5	Unknown: 3
1849	1850	1851
Thomas McEwan	Kenneth McLeod	Farquhar McGillivray
Jane Thomson	Elizabeth Ranken	Janet Scott
Elizabeth Ranken	Robert Hatnell	Catherine Nicoll
Andrew Cameron	John Rowland	James Craib
Kenneth McLeod	John Pratt	Donald McPherson
	William Wotherspoon	Catherine Wallens (?)
	Andrew Cameron	John Monro

	Catherine Nicoll	James Craib
	Farquhar McGillivray	James Cobb
	Donald Ross	Mary Ranken
	James Craib	Jane Duncan
	Ann Plumber	Andrew Cameron
	Janet Scott	
Men: 3	Men: 9	Men: 6
Women: 2	Women: 4	Women: 5
1852	1853	1854
Andrew Cameron	Catherine Finnie	Andrew Cameron
Mary Ranken	Anne Johnstone	Eliza Dickson
Grace Scott	Margaret Paterson	Agnes Watson
John Monro	Mary Rankine	Catherine Finnie
Catherine Nicoll	Eliza Dickson	
Fanny Taylor	Andrew Cameron	
Juda Lichi	Agnes Watson	
Margaret Paterson		
Anne Johnstone		
Men: 3	Men: 1	Men: 1
Women: 6	Women: 6	Women: 3
1855	1856	1857
Catherine Finnie	John Birnie	John Workman
Agnes Watson	Daniel L. Jarvis	Agnes Watson
Catherine Cummings	Agnes Watson	Jemima McLeod
Eliza Dickson	Janet Marshall	Alexander McKenzie
John Birnie	Anne Macleod	
	John Workman	
Men: 1	Men: 3	Men: 2
Women: 4	Women: 3	Women: 2

1858		
John Workman		
Elizabeth MacDonald		
Jemima McLeod		
Margaret Campbell		
Men: 1		
Women: 3		

Regularity of sitters at the TA 1846-1858

[illegible]

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